THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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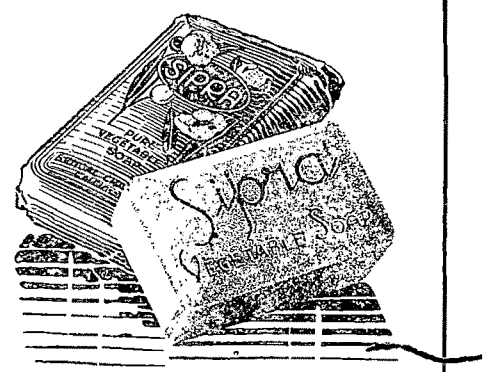

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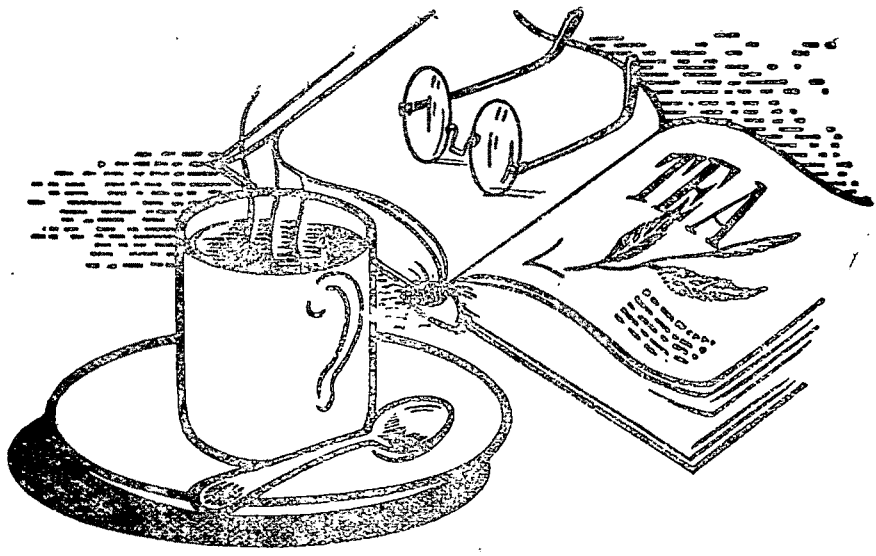

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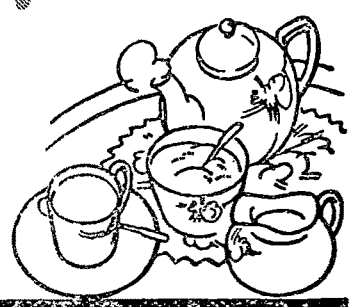

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INTER-RACIAL RELATIONS IN ANALYTICAL SOCIOLOGY

Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar

The Race-Pattern of World-War II

On September 1, 1939, Germany invades Poland and on September 3, England and France declare war on Germany. Thus commences World-War II. This is in reality the second round of what may turn out to be a Hundred Years' War between Germany and England. The period from the signing of the Anglo-French *Entente* in 1904 down to 1914 may be regarded as the introduction to this war or series of wars. World-War I (1914-18) represents the first round of the armageddon. The present war since September, 1939, has but reopened the question. In political philosophy, the Versailles-Neuilles-Trianon Treaty-Complex of 1919 has to be treated as nothing but a system of long-drawn-out truces.

Mankind is experiencing the evolution of a drama of which the theme is a conflict over world-domination between the *status quo* of the British Empire and the "creative disequilibrium"[1] engendered by a German Empire that is yet to be. This is the gist of the present author's *Vimsha Shatavdir Kurukshetra* (The Armageddon of the

[1] B. K. Sarkar, *Villages and Towns as Social Patterns* (Calcutta, 1941), Part V—The Theory of Progress as Creative Disequilibrium, pp. 491-663.

Twentieth Century) which is a part of his thirteen-volume work in Bengali entitled *Varttaman Jagat* (Modern World), 1914-35. All the ideological *isms*, including neo-democracy and neo socialism, as well as the boundaries of many nations or states in the two hemispheres are once more in the melting pot. Once again is the world's destiny being entrusted to military strategy and tactics. The rôle of international diplomacies and intrigues which constitute a major factor in politics continues undoubtedly its traditional course.

The second round is but a continuation of the first round. From the German side it is a vindictive war, a war of revenge upon the humiliation inflicted by the Treaty of Versailles. The more fundamental or rather permanent considerations must not be ignored. As long as Germany is deprived of colonies or dependencies in Asia, Africa and America she is determined to acquire colonies or dependencies in Europe. The small, medium and weaker peoples, nations or states of the European continent are in her estimation but the Aristotelian " natural slaves " or dominions of the German Empire. Europe,—east, west, north and south,—is the field of German imperialism or colonialism. This is Germany's reply to the doctrine of the " Expansion of England " or Anglo-American world-order which assures colonies to virtually every Eur-American except the German.

In so far as dependencies, semi-dependencies and mandated areas are normal phenomena in the political patterns of Asia and Africa, political science will have to consider dependencies, semi-dependencies and vassal-states as the normal political organisms of the European continent. This is a kind of " balancing " in colonialism or imperialism. Eur-American scholars are as a rule blind to this reality.

World-War II leaves no room for liberalism or expansion of human rights on either side. Like all previous wars it is a war for the slavification of smaller and weaker races by the larger and the stronger. The Poles, Czechs and others of Europe are like the millions elsewhere but pawns in the game. World-economic and other considerations should not be made too much of. A monocratic, *advaitavadi* or monistic ' economic interpretation ' of the present war is untenable.

For Japan and Turkey, especially, for the former the *vishwashakti* (world-forces) may be favourable enough for the dose by dose, further application of the " Monroe Doctrine " for Asia. But American imperialism has every chance of expansion in the two hemispheres, especially in the British Empire.

The idealism of the German poet, Stefan George (1864-1933), whose "*Hunger nach Ehre*" (hunger for or quest of honour) has inspired the German people to this *Schrecklichste Schrecken* (most horrible horror) is not unfelt in England. Indeed, it can be genuinely appreciated by none but the British authors like Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) and their imperialist comrades.

On December 7-12, 1941, Japan attacks the American and the British Empire in the Pacific coasts and islands and commandeers passage through Thailand (Siam), who becomes her ally. The audacious attack, covering several thousand naval miles, as it does, is described by Premier Churchill as indicative either of "recklessness" or of "conviction of strength." The Netherlands Indies declares war on Japan, and China on Japan, Germany and Italy. The U. S. places the Japanese, Italians and Germans in the category of "enemy aliens." According to Roosevelt, speaking on December 10, "all the continents of the world and all the oceans are now considered by Axis strategists as one gigantic battlefield." Germany and Italy declare war on the U. S. A.

The second round of the Anglo-German Armageddon is transformed at this stage into the German-Japanese challenge to the Anglo-American world-domination. For Japan it is a commencement of her career as the alleged "liberator" of Asians from the thraldom of American, British and Dutch empires. The map of Asia is in for change in keeping with and in continuation of the triumphs of Japan over Russia in 1905. But the Japanese triumphs may turn out to be short-lived.

It is questionable if Germany and Italy are likely to be happy over the anti-white drive in Asia by their ally, Japan. The cry, "Asia for Asians," is not more pleasant to the Germans and Italians than to their enemies of the Anglo-American *bloc*. The possibility of the expulsion of Eur-Americans from Asia by an Asian power is hated by Germany no less than by America, England, France, Holland, Italy and Russia. The war issues are, therefore, getting more complicated than when the Russian campaign of Germany began in June, 1941.

De-Imperialization as an Ideal

Writing on India in the *Star* (London, January 11, 1942) Lord Meston, ex-Governor of the U.P., says in part as follows, "The

Congress professes to want complete independence for India. That is something we never promised and we should at once categorically say we are not going to consider it. But Dominion Status is a thing we promised time after time."

This statement indicates the position of British imperialism some two weeks after the occupation by Japan of the British empire in Hong-Kong, Penang, Borneo and three-fourths of Malaya, of the American empire in Manila and most of the Philippines, and of the Dutch empire in some of the Indonesian islands. The expansion of Japan has been proceeding inch by inch or mile by mile. But the *status quo* of Eur-American imperialism is sitting tight. This is regrettable. The ideals of "de-imperialization" and "de-albinization" ought to be assimilated by British statesmen in the interest of their new "world-order."

Racial Non-Co-operation

The flight of crew and other workingmen from Penang (Malaya) furnishes an insight into the sociology of *hartal* (cessation of work) and non-co-operation as the equivalents of or substitutes for general strike and sabotage. Speaking to the House of Commons about the British evacuation from Penang in the middle of December, 1941, Edward Grigg, Parliamentary Under-Secretary, War Office, admits on January 20, 1942, that "no crews were available" to man the ships which, therefore, were deserted by the British at the harbours. The evacuation was a "most difficult task" because of the "few men available." This statement renders obvious the fact of "non-co-operation," *i.e.*, the absence of co-operation between the Malayans and the British people and explains how or why the Japanese succeeded in capturing the British fleet as well as controlling the Straits of Malacca in the south and the port of Tavoy (Burma) in the north.

Empire-holders have persisted through generations in keeping the subject races illiterate, disorganized, undisciplined and incompetent to handle machines. Such regrettable mistakes in inter-racial relations should not be tolerated any longer by British champions of "world-order." Empires dig their own graves. As soon as the empires are in peril the subject races quit in panic. The ruling classes and their industrial-commercial aristocracies are left entirely helpless and alone. Now only the sailors and workingman quit, but even the domestics, cooks and scavengers. Pragmatically speaking, imperialism

is in the last analysis a bad and unpaying business. The absence of confidence on the part of rulers in their subject races has its automatic counterpart in the non-co-operation of the latter with their rulers. De-imperialization ought to be seriously cultivated by British patriots.

In modern societies of the full fledged capitalistic-industrial pattern organised labour is a chief ingredient. Trade unions with their strikes and sabotage tactics are, therefore, some of the most effective social forces in contemporary civilization. But in undeveloped and semi-medieval regions labour power can and does assert itself,—although unequipped with literacy, technocratic skill and organization. The methodology of revolt among illiterate and unindustrialized working classes consists in *hartal* (simple abstention from work). It is the primitive flight or exodus from the centres of activity,—inspired by no other consideration than that of self-preservation or " safety first " at any cost. In the twentieth century this primitive tactics has acquired a fresh lease of life under the Gandhian categories of non-co-operation in the form of *hartal*. These are no less effective and dangerous than the socialistic strikes and sabotage operations. The story of some of the British reverses in Malaya can testify to the efficacy of wholesale flights,—although often senseless,—due to panic. Universal panic is found to be in operation among the illiterate and other primitives with the same results as general strike among syndicalists and other non-militarists or anarchists and pacifists in Eur-America.

Albinocracy in Sociology

On January 26, 1942, the Australian Prime Minister, Curtin, makes the following statement, " Australia is for the Australians. It is a White Australia." This is in keeping with the nearly two-generation-old Australian tradition (estd. *c.* 1880), as well as the all-round " albinocracy " embodied in the immigration policies of Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and the U.S.A. It is as a reaction to such " white monopoly " race-philosophies that the problems of " Indians overseas " or modern " Greater India " have arisen. The Chinese people, although allied with the Anglo-American *bloc* for the time being, is no less sensitive to this kind of arrogant racialism of the American and British empires. Even Japan has been compelled

to submit to this exclusionist whitemanism of the South Africans, Australians and Americans.

The Asian Monroe Doctrine, as prevalent in the entire Orient from Manila and Batavia to Ankara and Cairo, points but to a philosophy of self-defence against Eur-American 'ethnocentrism' or white chauvinism in Asia. Another reaction to this race-imperialism consists in the attempts by Japan to force open the Australian, South-African and American territories at the point of the bayonet. Japan's war in the Pacific and the Bay of Bengal since December 7-8, 1941, has long been awaited by the white empires. The League of Nations and Eur-American philosophers of "world-order" ought to have promoted the subversion of the traditional *idolas* in race-sociology in a peaceful manner.

In this regard, be it observed, however, that Germany and Italy, although allies of Japan and enemies of the American, British, Dutch and Soviet empires, are not friendly to Japanese sentiments and ambitions. The war in its present phase since December, 1941, is no less racial or ethnic than economic and political. There are wheels within wheels today as in all previous wars. The interests of all the allies on either side may not be identical. There can hardly be much solidarity on the Anglo-Russian-American side or on the German-Italian-Japanese. The victories of yellow Japan over the white American, British and Dutch empires are not more palatable to her white German and Italian allies than are the successes of communistic Soviet Russia against Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy to her bourgeois and finance-capitalistic allies of the Anglo-American league. The complications of the present war-pattern are psycho-socially as intricate as imaginable. In its war against Japan the British empire can ultimately depend on German co-operation.

Finally, Soviet Russia is no less imperialistic than the other belligerents. Nor is she less white-minded and albinocratic than the other Eur-American powers. The issues involved are wider and more entangling than those of communism (socialism) *vs.* fascism, or democracy *vs.* autocracy.

The will to glory, prestige, love of fatherland, nationalism, and the desire for conquest are no less effective as *élan vital* or *casus belli* than command over raw materials, economic prosperity, financial overlordship, consciousness of kind, ethnic affinity, ideological *camaraderie* and so forth. Each one can be a cause of war. No monocracy, *advaitavada*

or monism can explain a war. In the present war, among other things, the race-philosophy of some of the whites is encountering opposition from a powerful non-white state. Anti-whitism is functioning as a social force in reply to white-mindedness or albinocracy.

In October, 1917, with the Marxist Bible in his hands Lenin " shattered to pieces " the medieval and obscurantist state of Czarist Russia. In December, 1941, the race-imperialism of certain white powers has been violently challenged by Japan. Social science in the field of culture, law, politics, anthropology, religion, inter-human relations, world-order and so forth has long been aware of the possibilities of this conflict. Wise statesmanship might have prevented it through methods of " peaceful change."

Objective students of political science can witness the emergence of new ideologies on account of the war-pattern generated by Japan. The fact that large masses of lands and seas in the Pacific world are being occupied by the Japanese,—even although temporarily,—has already served to draw prominent attention to the " politics of boundaries " and to *vishwa-shaktir sadvyavahar* (utilization of world-forces) as some of the most creative categories of thought. Old political philosophy is losing its vitality and vigour.

It cannot be naïvely postulated, however, that the Asians of areas occupied by Japan in Hong-Kong, Philippines, Borneo, Malaya and Southern Burma, etc., are acquiring political freedom. Japanese " protection " is to be assumed as a matter of course. It is undoubted, therefore, that there can be no enthusiasm in Asia for this kind of " liberation." Besides, as suggested above, nobody should be entitled to dogmatize that the present acquisitions are permanent.

That the map of Asia could change was inconceivable in the world of science. The psychology of this *status quo* has now received a rude shock for the time being. Realistic politics has been entering the academic mind in Asia and abroad.

A tremendous revolution is perhaps being consummated in Japanese mentality. In the morals, manners and sentiments of Japan, 1941, marks evidently the Year II of a great movement of expansion of which the Year I was registered by her victories over Russia in 1905. This is an objective *fait social*. But this expansion of Japan is sure to evoke the most determined resistance from many Eur-American races. For Japan difficulties are only increasing.

Inferiority Complex

Eric MacFadyen, ex-President of the Association of British Malaya, contributes a letter to the *Times* (London) in which he says in part as follows (January 17, 1942):

"Our reverses in Malaya, quite apart from their grave implications for the economic side of the Allied war effort, have dealt a heavy blow at our prestige. If our name is to be vindicated—if we are to honour our obligation freely undertaken and to justify the confidence reposed for generations in our accredited representatives—it will not suffice to recover at a peace-table the ground we had to yield to a superior force. The over-ruling strategic considerations cannot be gainsaid, but every moment such considerations permit, the first call upon our resources must be an assertion of power by force of arms. Treachery must meet its due reward, aggression reversed and condign punishment meted to the aggressor openly before the eyes of those who have witnessed its offence."

This statement describes the position of the British army, navy and air-force as well as the ruling and commercial classes and the entire British world in Malaya as a result of the victories won by Japanese armed forces. The present weakness of the British Empire in military strategy, fighting power as well as diplomacy has been adequately pointed out. This is an objective fact and has been grasped as such by many persons among the empire-holding nations. The ultimate result of such objective grasp cannot but be good for the British people.

An inferiority complex has naturally attacked the British and the general Eur-American mind. And it would have been dignified had British statesmanship been able to rise to the height of the occasion and to understand how to identify itself with the ambitions and interests of Malayans. Those British statesmen who are working for a "new world-order" are expected to fight shy of the cult of "prestige" which, as is too well known, is obnoxious in Asian eyes. But, regrettably enough, the philosophy of empire-holders, self-complacent as it is, dies hard and is employing the conventional language of "obligation freely undertaken" and "confidence reposed in our accredited representatives." It refuses stubbornly to submit to the reality that Asians when equipped with "the force of arms" can be as expert in "assertion of power" as Eur-Americans. Malayans should

be capable of accomplishing as much as Eur-Americans as well as Japanese. Far-sighted politicians ought to appeal to the dignity of Malayans and evoke their colleagueship and cooperation in the establishment of world-wide equality. Race-equality between East and West and the Asian Monroe Doctrine, as envisaged in the present author's *Futurism of Young Asia*,[1] should be accepted by British patriots in an entirely pragmatic manner. It is time for Eur-American scholars in social science, generally speaking, to revise the foundations of their inter-racial philosophy in accordance with the realistic data of factual history. Doses of inferiority complex, administered at times to the Western world, are likely to be good therapeutics in the interest of Eur-American mental and moral sanity, and the cult of "prestige" may come to be treated as an anachronism.

Ideals for Subject Races and Poorer Classes

By the end of November, 1941, Germany finds herself within ten or fifteen miles of Moscow as well as of Leningrad in the north and Rostov in the south besides overrunning Crimea. She is at the same time in control of all Europe (*minus* Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and the British Isles). In December, 1941, Japan attacks the American, British and Dutch empires in Asia and by the end of March, 1942, succeeds in conquering Hong-Kong, the Philippines, Borneo, Celebes, Malaya Peninsula (with Singapore), Southern Burma, the Moluccas, Bali and Java.

During this period three ideological categories acquire or rather re-acquire prominence. The Germans have their "new order for Europe." The British are interested in "world order." The Japanese category is "Asia for Asians" or "co-prosperity sphere in Greater East Asia." These war-ideologies are not the only war-time ideologies, however.

Strategically, the three wars constitute one organic complex, depending as they do for military-naval-aerial operations on one another. But ideologically, each has commenced with its own set of aims and objectives. Germany wants an empire alongside of

[1] A paper in the *International Journal of Ethics* (Chicago, July, 1918), available in the *Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress* (Calcutta, 1939).

or parallél to the Anglo-American (or other Eur-American) empires in the two hemispheres. The Russian empire is having its new industrial-*cum*-military power tested against the world-famous German power with a view to hegemony in Northern, Central and South-eastern Europe. The Japanese empire is attempting to deprive Eur-American albinocracy of its colonies, dominions, possessions or dependencies in Asia.

The fortunes of the subject races and weaker states belong no doubt to the goals of these wars such as are likely to be decided by the peace treaties. But no large moral or humanitarian considerations can be expected to prevail. The issues will be settled by the actual condition or extent of victories, defeats or stalemates as well as by considerations of *Realpolitik* emerging out of the altered *vishwa-shakti* (world-forces).

The Poles, Czechs, Slovaks and others on European soil between the Baltic and the Black Seas and the Eastern Mediterranean are the traditional subject races, colonies, dependencies and political slaves of European history. Their emancipation,—temporary, conditional or permanent,—from the German and/or Russian empires is dependent on the parallel and simultaneous emancipation of the Asian subject races from Eur-American empires. There is likely to be no political freedom among the European subject races or slaves as long as there is no political freedom among the Asian. The two subjections, slaveries, colonialisms or imperialisms " balance " each other. The same balancing is to be witnessed in the emancipatory, liberation or freedom movements of Eur-Asia. All the empires in East and West have need to be subverted together. The topic has been dealt with in my *Villages and Towns as Social Patterns* (Calcutta, 1941, pp. 72-75, 534, 535, 564-566, 576-578, 675).

Whatever happens to the subject races of Europe and Asia will only be but a bye-product of the three wars. The direct and immediate objective is the expansion or subversion of the powerful but rival empires. Democracy, socialism, neo-democracy, neo-socialism and such other *isms* hardly constitute the mental and moral outfit of the leading statesmen, patriots or warriors on either side in this Armageddon. Curiously enough, no idealist is vocal enough even to use these words any more. Mankind has got so disillusioned about the contents of these *isms* that nobody dare exploit these categories. The fortunes of the poorer classes in every country as

well as of the subject races and slaves in the two hemispheres will ultimately depend on "accidents" and unlooked-for happenings at the end of the wars.

Down to the end of March, 1942, the Anglo-American-Russian powers remain beaten in all fields of actual operations. But strategically speaking, their position is still more favourable than that of their enemies. By land and sea the British empire and its allies constitute a physically united *bloc* which Germany and Japan do not. Geography is against the latter. Germany and Japan can hardly win in *the long run* unless two extremely difficult feats are performed by them. First, German and Japanese land-forces must meet and establish regular and effective contacts with each other on South-Asian soil in order that Russia may be cut off from the Iranian and Indian territories. And secondly, the Japanese navy must be in a position to cut off the whole of South Asia,—*i.e.*, the Indian Ocean, especially, the Indian and Iranian waters from South Africa, Australia and the two Americas. As long as the Anglo-American *bloc* is powerful enough to maintain the land and sea contacts with Russia through India and Iran,—as well as through the Arctic Ocean,—it bids fair, if not, to achieve a decisive victory,—at any rate, to command a respectable draw.

In any case, the wars of today as of yesterday and day before yesterday will have demonstrated once more that mankind is hardly ever governed by moral and humane considerations. The boundaries of peoples, nations or states, *i.e.*, nationality and political freedom depend in the last analysis almost exclusively on powder, petrol and aircraft,—aircraft, petrol and powder.

Mankind cannot, however, afford to be entirely or exclusively cynical. Personality is a permanent amalgam of good and evil. This *dharma-adharma* pattern of the human *psyche* and interhuman relations has been functioning all through the ages. The ideals of de-imperialization or de-colonization cannot, therefore, be declared to be utterly worthless even in the present conjuncture. They still possess their significance and utility like the older ideals, *e.g.*, of democracy and socialism. Similarly, the ideals of de-albinization, subversion of albinocracy or Eur-American imperialism, *i.e.*, overthrow of white world-domination are likely to furnish *l'élan de la vie* to millions of repressed humanity. The urges of "creative disequilibrium" or progress may always come to mankind in East and West from such

ideals, old and new,—even if the realities of world-politics are determined in the main by sordid forces.

De-Albinization

Reuter reports the Netherlands Prime Minister, Dr. P. S. Gerbrandy, as speaking at the Guildhall (London) in part as follows (February 14, 1942)[1]:

"In the Pacific War there is something different at stake than in the European war. To win the war in Europe is to win the peace. To win the war in the Far East is to win the peace—only if we win soon enough.

'Asia for Asiatics' is the Japanese slogan which may easily destroy the carefully-constructed basis of our cultural synthesis. The lower classes are easily misled by false promises of much property without taxation and the upper classes are standing with one foot in Occidental culture and one in Oriental belonging fully to neither. Therefore, though the lengthy occupation of important parts of the Pacific territories might not necessarily turn the final victory of the Western Powers into a virtual defeat, it will at least prove a formidable obstacle to real peace in the Far East.

Japanese injuries and insults to the white population—these are already being perpetrated by the detestable Japanese Huns—will irreparably damage white prestige unless severely punished within a short time."

These are the words of a man whose fatherland, Holland, has been conquered by Germany and is at present a German colony or dependency. But it is interesting that he fails to understand the problems, interests and ambitions of the subject races of Asia. As long as Asians remain subject to Eur-American empires, there is every likelihood of many European peoples including the Dutch remaining subject to Germany.

Another item deserves notice. This sort of albinocratic jingoism is quite out of tune with the *milieu* of twenty-six "united nations," which is being constantly presented by the anti-German-Japanese *bloc* as a feature of the present war.

In Eur-America today there are groups of anthropologists, philosophers, economists and statesmen who talk of world-peace and

[1] *The Statesman* (Calcutta), 14th February, 1942.

the freedom of nations. Their world-order is alleged to be conceived in a liberal spirit. Many of them are realists too. It is perhaps up to them to judge as to how sensible, appropriate and dignified it is for a white empire-holder to expatiate on "white prestige" when a non-white power has been trampling it down in the open fields of war, and in exactly the same manner in which prestige had been acquired by the whites.

It is, besides, not unknown to those liberal statesmen and social scientists that "cultural synthesis" is a phenomenon in which the Japanese are past masters even in their own homeland. The cry, "Asia for Asians," has never implied the boycott of Western civilization, *i.e.*, expulsion of non-Asian culture from Asia. It is a purely political cult, nothing but the Asian Monroe Doctrine.

Gerbrandy and others like him in Eur-America have mastered the encyclopaedia of albinocratic arrogance and imperialistic insolence. These are the persons who are in need of being tutored and re-educated—by those of their fellow whites who believe in inter-racial goodwill and fellowship—into habits of mental and moral sanity as well as sober commonsense when talking of Asians and other non-whites.

Curiously enough, the Dutch apostle of "white prestige" is impervious, moreover, to the fact that many races of non-whites, including the Chinese of Chung-king, are being daily coaxed into friendship, alliance and *camaraderie* by the empire-holders of England, America and Holland, in order to 'make the world safe for democracy.' Non-whites are factually functioning on both sides of the Armageddon as the allies of the whites. It is, therefore, not exclusively a war of whites against non-whites.

It is the imperviousness of certain Eur-Americans to human logic and realities of the world-situation that renders the expressions of some of their liberal statesmen and philosophers liable to interpretation as utter hypocrisy and nonsensical bombast. Those in the West who are serious and sincere exponents of a "new world-order" are likely to appreciate the full significance of the present situation. The West is tending to visualize something like a "de-albinized" world, *i.e.*, a world emancipated from white chauvinism. Western historians are likely to be convinced that Asians have recovered their ancient prestige as world-conquerors and succeeded in demonstrating the restoration of their "Damascus blades." Orientals are seeking to

rise to their traditional reputation of "superior races." Mutual appreciation between East and West may, then, become a social fact of world-wide magnitude.

The moralists, philosophers, scientists and statesmen of Eur-America may commence teaching the members of their races as to how to think sensibly and behave correctly in regard to the men and women of Asia and Africa. This would imply a thorough-going re-education of Eur-American adults in international attitudes and behaviours with special reference to the Orient. De-albinization or emancipation of world-politics from albinocracy (*i.e.*, the hegemony of the whites) bids fair to be a strong item in the universe of mental and moral values, ushered into existence by the activities of *Navin Asiar Janmadata*,[1] Japan, the Parent of Young Asia. It is a disgrace that the world should have waited for bloody fights to initiate or promote a system of mutual appreciation between races on the basis of equality. This ought to have been brought about by "peaceful change" in inter-mental relations.[2]

1 Vol. V (Calcutta, 1927) in B. K. Sarkar's *Vartiaman Jagat* ("Modern World," complete in thirteen volumes, 1914-35).

2 See the present author's "The League of Nations as an Interhuman Pattern," in the *Calcutta Review* for March, 1942.

ITALY IN ELIZABETHAN PAMPHLETS *

DR. M. M. BHATTACHERJEE, M.A., PH.D.

THE culture and educational ideals of Renaissance Italy influenced almost the whole of Europe. Scholars were attracted to Italian Universities and seats of learning by the reputation of their teachers. Italian art treasures had a fascination for travellers and connoisseurs. Neo-Platonic idealism, as developed by Italian humanists in tune with Christian mysticism, had a great attraction for European thinkers.

Elizabethan Literature bears traces of these brighter features of Italian culture. But, as is natural, it also reflects the seamy side of Italian life and society. This reflection is, however, so repulsive that one is inclined to believe that it is divorced from truth. A foreigner is always apt to observe inaccurately and to carry away wrong impressions. Want of sympathy is often responsible for lack of insight. But when the picture is too dark, the question arises, how far it is due to mere paucity of information or careless generalisation.

Deliberate misrepresentation is likely where there is an ulterior motive. When two countries are at war, publicists on both sides often resort to suppression of truth and false suggestion. Their object is the creation of a favourable public opinion. But England was not really at war against Italy in the fifteenth century.

One likely reason for misrepresentation of Italian life in England might have been Englishmen's abhorrence of popery and their dread of papal domination in England. Religious differences explain almost any kind of antagonism. Horrible stories against Mary Stuart, circulated in England even by eminent writers, illustrate the point. Reference may be made to Spenser's portraiture of Duessa in the *Faerie Queene*.

But even when allowances have been made for religious differences, the aspersions on Italian life, manners and morals pass beyond the limits of credibility, and look monstrous. One wonders how far they were based on fact.

* This paper was intended to be read at the English Conference held at Lahore in December, 1941.

The political and social history of this period in Italy was undoubtedly dismal. There were disorders in civil and military affairs. The Pope, the French, the Swiss and the Spaniards were engaged in constant warfare, and mercenary soldiers were too readily engaged. These were undisciplined and ruthless. Their nature is commented upon by Machiavelli.

Guicciardini gives the careers of unscrupulous princes and politicians. Of these Cesare Borgia and Pope Alexander VI were too notorious. Aretino's work and life were both tainted with immorality.

The darker aspects of Italian life indirectly influenced Elizabethan Drama of the decadence. But direct allegations are made against Italy in pamphlets and books of travel of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They cannot, for obvious reasons, be exhaustively dealt with. Reference to just a few of them will suffice to bring out what contemporary Englishmen thought of Italians. It would be no exaggeration to mention that the two lines—

An Englishman Italinate
Is the Devil Incarnate—

may be taken to represent fairly their view. Says Nash, "It is nowe a privie note amongst the better sort of men, when they would set a singular marke of brand on a notorious villain, to say he hath been in Italy."

To be specific, Italians were believed to be abnormally revengeful, and ever ready to avenge every fancied wrong. Says Nash, "Nothing so long of memorie as a dog, these Italians are old dogs, and will carry an injurie a whole age in memorie ; I have heard of a boxe on the eare that hath been revenged thirtie yeare later. The Neapolitane carrieth the bloodiest mind, and is the most secret fleering murderer." Again, "Chance some of them (Italians) breake a bitter jest on thee, and thou retortest it severely or seemest discontented: goe to thy chember, and provide a great blanket, for thou shalt be sure to be visited with guests in a mast the next night, when in kindness and courtship thy throat shall be cut, and the dooers return undiscovered." Hired men were usually employed for wreaking vengeance and these took their victims unawares at night.

Italy was called the "Academy of manslaughter, the sporting place of murderer." Murders were committed not on provocation,

however slight it might be, but in cold blood, for mere money. "Even for a book lent you may be killed." (*Unfortunate Traveller.*) This belief might have been induced by the rumours of the nefarious activities of Pope Alexander VI and Cesare Borgia, who killed not merely their enemies, but also rich Cardinals and Courtiers for their riches. In the *Unfortunate Traveller* Nash relates a story of a plot by a pander and a courtesan of Venice to murder him. He was really a servant to the Earl of Surrey, but the servant and the master had changed places during their journey to Rome, and the two conspirators offered tempting baits to the supposed servant to induce him to murder the supposed master. Their plan was to accuse him publicly of murder after he had committed the crime, so that they might safely appropriate the belongings (of the Earl). "He verie subtilly concented to her stategeme at the first motion.....and a pistoll was the predestinate engine which must deliver the parting blow. . . . he tolde me but everie thing that she and he agreed of . . . The execution day aspired to his utmost devolution, into my chambre came my honourable attendant with his pistoll charged by his side very suspitiouslie and sullenly" followed by the two instigators. "At their entrance I saluted them all very familiarly and merily, and began to impart unto them what disquiet dream had disturbed mee the last night. I dreamt, quoth I, that my man came into my chamber with a pistoll charged under his arme to kill me, and that he was suborned by you mistress Tabitha (the courtesan), and my verie good friende Petro de campo Frego, God send it turne to good, for it hath affrighted mee alone measure. As they were readie to enter into a colourable common place of the deceitfull frivolousnes of dreams, my trustie servant stoode quivering and quaking every joint of him, and as it was before compacted betweene us, let his pistoll droppe from him on the sodaine wherewith I started out of my bed, and drew my repair, and cryde murther, murther. My servant or my master which you will, I tooke roughly by the collar, and threatened to run him thorugh incontinent, if he confest not the truth. He as it were striken with remorse of conscience, downe on his knees, askt forgiveness, and impeached Tabitha and Petro as guiltie of subornation."

Poisoning was often a substitute for strangling and stabbing where secrecy as to the cause of death had to be maintained. It was called the "princes' practice." "The poison of Italy" is the name

of an anonymous English pamphlet. Nash calls Italy "the Apothecary shop of poyson for all." Many intriguers are believed to have unwittingly taken poison prepared for their enemies, and paid for their criminal instinct with their lives. The Death of Pope Alexander VI and the serious illness of Cesare were attributed to carelessness in swallowing poison meant for others. In books on travel which were copiously produced in Elizabethan England, warnings were frequently given to intending travellers against the danger of poisoning in Italy. Ascham relates the story of repeated attempts at poisoning Octavious, Duke of Parme, as a consequence of political difference, though the Duke was a most popular man in Italy (*A Discourse and Affairs of the State of Germany*). Says Thomas Nash, "If thou doost but lend half a book to a Romans or Italians wife, they porredge shall be prepared for thee, and cost thee nothing but thy lyfe." (*Unfortunate Traveller.*) Illicit love was generally punished with poisoning the lover.

Italians had the reputation of being very jealous husbands. They did not like their wives' beauty to be the object of others' gaze. "La povera moglie" was shut up and veiled like a nun. Torments and charges of adultery were common. Where the husband's suspicion appeared to be well-founded, the wife (or her lover) was secretly murdered by the husband in disguise. It was not the practice for the husband to seek relief in a court of law in such a case. Tormented wives too had their revenge against unjust and jealous husbands.

"Seldom do they prove patient martyrs who are punished unjustly; one way or other they will cry quittance whatsoever it cost them." (*Unfortunate Traveller.*)

Instability of character was looked upon as a glaring defect of the Italian character, and it was this that was responsible for the disorders in civil and military affairs of the country. The Italians were swayed by gusts of passion as well as by fits of noble sentiments. Love of art and a mystic disposition existed side by side in them with brutality, greed and wanton cruelty. Munday mentions a rule observed by the Jesuits in charge of a college for English students in Rome, which enjoined penance and even whipping as a form of punishment for certain minor breaches of discipline. Yet these Jesuits felt no hesitation in practising "a craftie kind of coasonage whereby the ignorant people are beguiled." (*English Romaine Lyfe.*) "An

other day they goe to the seven churches. In all these Churches, there be diverse Reliques, which make them haunted of a vervailous multitude of people: whereby the lazie lurden friars that keepe the churches, gettes more ritches, then so many honest men should doo."

"Pride the perverter of all vertue, sitteth appareled" amongst Italians. Nash says of a proud English youth, "All Italianato is his talke." Nash thus distinguishes the pride of the Italians, from that of the Spaniards: the last "is borne a Bragart in his mouthers wombe: ..... he talks like one of the giants that made warre against Heaven." "The Italian is a more cunning proud fellowe, that hides his humour far cleanlier, and indeed seemes to take a pride in humilitie, and will prefer a straunger more curtesie than he means to performe. Hee hateth him deadly that takes him at his word: as for example, if, upon occasion of meeting, he request you to dinner or supper at his house, and that at the first or second intreatie you promise to be his guest, he will be the mortalst enemie you have: but if you denie him, he will thinke you have manners and good bringing up, and will love you as his brother: marry, at the third or fourth time you must not refuse him."

Licentiousness was regarded as a characteristic vice of the Italians. The lives of Alexander and Cesare Borgia may have been responsible for this impression to a certain extent. The works of Boccaccio, Bandello and Aretino possibly confirmed it. Stephen Gosson's charge of obscenity against the Italian novella is well known. In *Eupheus and his England,* Lyly roundly accuses Italians of wantonness and vice. His description of Oxford which he believed to have imbibed Italianism, betrays his hatred of Italian morals, "Such playing at dice, such quafficking of drinke, such dalyannce with woemen." Ascham strongly warns young men against travelling in Italy, "Italie, now, is not that Italie, that it was wont to be; and therefore now, not so fitte a place, as some do counte it, for young men to fetch either wisdome or honestie from thence." Thomas Palmer says that Venice was the worst place in Italy, where "even boys were given too much liberty." Fynes Moryson declares, "Chastity is laughed at among them and hissed out of all good company." Coryates, the author of *Crudities,* visited Italy with the zeal of a reformer, and was shocked at what he saw. Courtezans were "courted and honoured of all men," specially in Rome and Venice. Large revenues were realised by the Pope from licenced stews which were

numerous. His eyes were dazzled by the gorgeous apparel and brilliant apartments of public women, some of whom rolled in luxury. The banquets were particularly rich and seductive. Thomas Nash thus narrates his experiences in Venice, "We made a long stride and got to Venice in short time, where, having scarce looked about us, a precious supernatural pandor, apparelled in all points like a gentlemen, and having halfe a dozen several languages in his purse, entertained us in own owne tongue very paraphrastically and eloquently, and maugre all other pretended acquaintance, would have us in a violent kinde of curtesie to be the guestes of his appointment—The place where he brought us was a pernicious curtizan's house. What will you conceit to be in any saints house that was there to seeke? Bookes, pictures, beades, crucifixes, why there was a haberdashers shop of them in every chamber. I warrent you should not see one set of her neckercher perverted or turned awrie, not a piece of a haire displast. On her beds there was not a wrinkle of any wallowing to be found, her pillows bare out as smooth as a groning wives belly, and yet she was a Turke and an infidel, and had more dooings than all her neighbours besides. Us for our money they used like Emperours." (*Unfortunate Traveller.*)

English people's abhorrence of Italians was aggravated by the presumption that the latter were influenced by the teachings of Machiavelli, and Machiavelli himself was dreaded, because he was misunderstood. The misunderstanding was so widespread that the Italian statesman was made the prototype of the villain of the Elizabethan play. "The master figure of Elizabethan drama is Machiavelli," says Windnam Lewis. Marie Praz, however, points out that Machiavelli's ideas were "granfte on a pre-existing Senecan type (of villain)." Cromwell, Henry VII's adviser, was called Machiavelli's first disciple in England.

Italians were supposed to be crafty and wily beyond measure in consequence of their discipleship to the author of *The Prince*. The "sottigliezza d'ingegno" of the southerner was a byword, and is set out in a pamphlet called "Discovery of subtil fetches and shifts of Italians." The activities of the Jesuits and their emissaries in England against Queen Elizabeth obviously prompted people to impute every kind of hypocrisy and treachery against the Catholics generally and against Italians in particular. Dokkar says that the Italians "embrace you with one arme and rip your guts with the

other." "Under hypocrisie" come, according Nash, "all Machiavilisme, and outword gloasing with a man's enemy, and protesting friendship to him that I hate, and mean to harme: all under-hand cloaking of bad actions with Common-wealth pretences: and finally all Italionate conveyances, as to kill a man, and then mourne for him, *quasi vero* it was not by my consent, to be a slave to him that hath injur'd me, and kisse his feete for opportunities of revenge . . . to use men for my purpose and then cast them off, to seeke his destruction that knowes my secrets: and such as I have imployed in any murther or stratagem, to set them privily together by the eares, to stab each other mutually, for feare of bewraying me: or if that faile, to hite them to humour one another in such courses as may bring them both to the gallowes. These and a thousand more such sleightes hath hypocrisie learned by travailing *strange countries*."

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ROUSSEAU AND HIS VIEWS ON EDUCATION THROUGH SENSE-PERCEPTION

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JEAN Jacques Rousseau universally known as a social reformer and political philosopher whose teachings were at the root of the French revolution was also a great pedagogue, his principal work on the subject of education being "Emile" on which the present article is mainly based.

Rousseau divided his theory of sense-training into four sections: (1) The meaning of sense-training, (2) knowledge arising through the senses, (3) method of sense-training, and (4) curriculum affected by sense-training. This is a correct and comprehensive division revealing a good deal of depth. By sense-training Rousseau means to make correct judgment by means of the senses.[1] He maintains that young children should not be expected to do abstract reasoning. Because reason is the compound of all other faculties, and the latest to be developed, it should not be resorted to as the means of unfolding the other faculties. The highest function of education is to develop a child into a reasoning man; it is exceedingly foolish to attempt to train him by making him reason. Such a process is ruinous from the start. If children knew how to reason they would not need to be educated. By addressing them in their earliest years in a language they fail to understand, we accustom them to being satisfied with whatever is said to them; to look upon themselves as wise as their teachers, to wrangle and rebel.[2]

By saying that children should not be reasoned with, Rousseau does not mean that they should not be reasoned with at all. On the contrary, he believes that children should be reasoned with regarding things within their experience, but not regarding abstract thing which they do not understand. "I observe, on the contrary, that in things they understand, things relating to their present and manifest interests, they reason extremely well. We are, however, liable to be

1 Rousseau, J. J., *Emile*, tr. by Eleanor Worthington, p. 96.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

misled as to their knowledge, attributing to them what they do not have, and making them reason about what they do not understand." [1] Hence all their knowledge is based on sensations and not on abstract thinking materials. "All their knowledge is in sensation, and nothing has penetrated the understanding." [2]

Of this method of sense-training Rousseau says that the memory and imagination of the young child are very inactive. Children are naturally very attentive to objects which stimulate the senses and their earliest knowledge should be gained through the senses. Care should be taken to show them the connection between the sensations and the objects that arouse them. This should be done systematically so that the memory will present an orderly arrangement of causes and results to the understanding.

Children should be encouraged to handle things as they gain by touch, sight, and hearing the knowledge that comes from the sensations—knowledge of heat and cold through touch, of shape and size through sight, of sounds by the ears, and so on. They should compare the results of one sense with the results of others for correct judgment. "In this outset of life, while memory and imagination are still inactive, the child pays attention only to what actually affects his senses. The first materials of his knowledge are his sensations. If, therefore, these are presented to him in suitable order, his memory can hereafter present them to his understanding in the same order. But as he attends to his sensations only, it will at first suffice to show him very clearly the connections between these sensations and the objects which give rise to them. He is eager to teach everything, to handle everything. Do not thwart his restless desire; it suggests to him a very necessary apprenticeship. It is thus he learns to feel heat and coldness, hardness and softness, heaviness and lightness of bodies, to judge of their size, their shape, and their sensible qualities, by looking, by touching, by listening, above all, by comparing the results of sight with those of touch, estimating with the eye the sensation that a thing produces." [3]

Rousseau maintained that children up to the age of twelve should not be given any books, for they will learn everything from nature feasting their eyes on the surrounding sensible objects. All

[1] Rousseau, J. J., *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

that they see and hear impresses them and they keep mental notes of all they see and hear. All the things around them will be their books and if we wish to cultivate their faculties we must choose those things which are favourable for this purpose and throw away those that thwart the faculties. In this way the child's mind will be a storehouse of knowledge and it will help greatly in his education.

This method is calculated to produce not phenomenal but robust, judicious and healthy children. Nor is it conducive to the reputation of the teacher ; but it does immense good to the taught. "All he sees and hears impresses him, and he remembers it. He keeps a mental register of people's sayings and doing. Everything around him is the book from which he is continually but unconsciously enriching memory against the time his judgment can benefit by it. If we intend rightly to cultivate this chief faculty of the mind, we must choose these objects carefully, constantly acquainting him with such as he ought to understand, and keeping back those he ought not to know. In this way we should endeavour to make his mind a storehouse of knowledge, to aid in his education in youth, and to direct him at all times. This method does not, it is true, produce phenomenal children, nor does it make the reputation of their teachers, but it produces judicious, robust men, sound in body and in themselves respected in manhood."[1]

Method of cultivating the senses—subordination of one sense to another: —

Knowledge based on one sense is not reliable but often erroneous. To gain correct knowledge we must judge the result of one sense by the others. For example, in order to gain the true notion of an iceberg we not only rely on sight but we must subordinate touch to sight otherwise we will gain the knowledge of its size and colour and not its other property, namely, coldness. We are very inaccurate in our judgments as to size, height, breadth, etc. This inaccuracy of judgment is not based on organic defect but in our careless use of our senses.

Rousseau shows that masons, engineers, architects, surveyors, and painters measure far more accurately with their eyes than we do and this advantage is due to experience gained from their occupations.

[1] Rousseau, J. J., *Emile*, tr. by Eleanor Worthington.

According to Rousseau the impressions of one sense should be supplemented by those of others. Thus sight should be supplementd by touch and so forth. This leads to accuracy of observation in determining height, length, depth, and distance. This observation of Rousseau may easily be verified with reference to the experience of engineers, surveyors, architects, masons, and painters in whose cases the sensation of sight is supplemented by other senses such as touch, etc.[1]

According to Rousseau senses are trainable. The sensation of touch which is very massive serves as a "sentinel to warn us of harmful factor." "Constant use of the sensation is at the root of the acquisition of knowledge on our part. It does not require much of special cultivation. It is a matter of common experience that blind men have more accurate touch than normal men do. The conclusions of the sensations of touch is very rude and imperfect; and therefore they have to be verified, corrected and supplemented by the sensations of sight.[2] As Rousseau says "The decisions of touch, because they are so limited in their range, are the most accurate. Because they go no farther than our arm's length, they correct the errors of other senses, that deal with distant objects, whereas all that touch perceives, it perceives thoroughly. Of all our senses touch is the best means through which impressions of external objects are carried to us, and is the one oftenest used, and gives us most directly the knowledge necessary to our preservation."[3]

Sight according to Rousseau is the most defective of our senses, because it is very far reaching and its operations are too immediate and too vast to receive correction from other senses.[4] Sight unless and until it is aided by sensation of touch cannot give us an idea of extent. "Without touch and without progressive movement, the keenest eyesight in the world could give us no idea of extent;"[5] and again "we cannot learn to judge correctly of the extent and size of bodies without also learning to recognize their forms, and even to imitate them."[6]

1 Rousseau, J. J., *Emile*, tr. by Eleanor Worthington, p. 101.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 97, pp. 84-85.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 100.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 102.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 103.

Hearing

Bodies at rest and bodies in motion alike excite the sensation of touch. Bodies in motion alone excite our sense of hearing. If everything were at rest, we could not hear at all. At night when we move we apprehend fear from bodies in motion. Consequently we judge from our sensations whether the body that causes them is large or small, distant or near and whether its motion is violent or slight. Rousseau compares sight with hearing thus: "When we see the flash of a cannon there is still time to avoid the shot; but as soon as we hear the sound there is not time; the ball has struck. We can estimate the distance of thunder by the interval between the flash and the thunderbolt. Make the child understand such experiments; try those that are within his own power, and discover others by inference. But it would be better he should know nothing about these things than that you should tell him all he is to know about them."[1]

Voice

According to Rousseau human voices are of three types—articulate voice, melodious voice, and pathetic or accented voice. The children should be taught with particular care the melodious and accented voice though the training should begin with the articulate voice. They should be taught to speak clearly, accurately and correctly strictly according to the rules of grammar and prosody. The proper accent should be attended to and all affectations should be avoided. Loudness of speech for its own sake should be altogether eschewed. They should also be taught to acquire a melodious, flexible and sonorous voice. The sensation of taste according to Rousseau is more vitally important to man than other sensations. It is intimately connected with the human system. Man can afford to be indifferent to the objects of touch, hearing and sight but not so to the objects of taste. Taste has a material and physical basis. In it there is a very little room for imagination and intimation leading to things of moral height As Rousseau puts it, "Generally, also, persons of passionate and really sensible temperament, easily moved by other senses, are rather indifferent in regard to this. This very fact, which seems in some

[1] Rousseau, J. J., *Emlie*, tr. by Eleanor Worthington, p. 103.

measure to degrade the sense of taste, and to make excess in its indulgence more contemptible, leads me, however, to conclude that the surest way to influence children is by means of their appetite.[1]

Drawing

All children being natural imitators, try to draw. Rousseau takes advantage of this fact and allows his people to cultivate this art, not for the sake of cultivating it as an art but to render the eye true and the hands flexible. To Rousseau it is of no importance whether his pupil understands the art or that exercise provided he gains the mental insight and manual training derived from the exercise. Rousseau therefore will not have a drawing master who will only give copies to imitate and would make drawings from drawings.

The people should have no teacher but nature, and no models but real things. He should draw pictures from nature, not from the paper that represents nature. He should draw a house from a real house; a tree from a tree, a human figure from the real man. In this way he will observe bodies and their appearances and will not mistake for accurate imitations those that are false and conventional. Rousseau will even object if his pupil draws anything from memory, till by repeated observations the exact forms of the objects are distinctly engraved on his imagination, lest substituting odd and fantastic shapes for the real things, he might loose the knowledge of proportion and a taste for the beauties of nature.[2] Of course for a long time the child will make no progress at all worthy of noticing and he will be long in mastering elegance of outline. He may never learn to discern picturesque effects or draw with superior skill, it is of utmost importance that he will have a correct eye, a true hand, and will gain a knowledge of proportions of size and shape in animals, plants and natural bodies and will have practical experience of the illusions of perspective. This is exactly what Rousseau wants and not the imitation of objects in place of the knowledge of them. Rousseau would rather have his pupil show him an acanthus than a finished drawing of the foliation of a capital.[3] Drawing develops the accurate visual perception and trains the hand.

[1] Rousseau, J. J., *Emile*, tr. by Eleanor Worthington, p. 110.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 103-104.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

Geometry

In teaching children geometry we should look at the thing from their angle of vision rather than our own. What is to us the art of reasoning should be to them the art of seeing and it should be taught as such. In our method of learning geometry, imaginations does as much as reason. When a given problem is stated, we have to imagine the demonstration, that is, we have to find upon what proposition already known the new one depends and from all the consequences of this known principle select the one needed.

According to this method the most exact reasoner, if not naturally inventive must be at fault. The inevitable result is that the teacher, instead of making us discover demonstrations, dictates them to us ; instead of teaching us to reason, he reasons for us, and exercises our memory.[1]

Geography

In teaching the children geography they should not be shown globes, maps, and other representations of things. Instead they should be shown the real things. This method of teaching children geography by making them acquainted with the real things will facilitate their understanding.

On some beautiful evening take the child for a walk with you, in a place suitable for your purpose, where in the unmolested horizon the setting sun can be plainly seen. Take a careful observation of all the objects marking the spot at which it goes down. When you go for an airing next day, return to this same place before the sun rises.

You can see it announce itself by arrows of fire. The brightness increases ; the east seems all aflame. From its glow you anticipate long beforehand the coming of day. Every moment you imagine you see it. At last it really does appear, a brilliant point which rises like a flash of lightening, and it instantly fills all space.

No one can resist this enchanting hour or behold with indifference or spectacle so grand, so beautiful, so full of all delight.[2] It is a foolishness on the part of the teacher, says Rousseau, to try to arouse the enthusiasm of the child by calling his attention to what

[1] Rousseau, J. J., *Emile*, tr. by Eleanor Worthington, p. 106.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 124-25.

he has seen. The drama of nature lives in the heart ; to see it, one must feel it. The child sees the objects merely and not the relations that bind them together ; he can make nothing of their harmony. The mixed and temporary impression of all these sensations need and experience he has never acquired, and feelings he has never known.

If he has never crossed the desert and felt its burning sand burn his feet, has never felt the oppression of the scorching rays of the sun reflected from its rocks, how can he fully enjoy the coolness of a beautiful morning? How can the scent of flowers, the cooling vapour of the dew, sinking of his foot-steps in the soft and pleasant turf, charm his senses ? How can the song of birds delight him, while the accents of love and pleasure are yet unknown ? How can he see with transport the beginning of so beautiful a day, unless imagination can paint all the transports with which he may be filled?[1]

To make the child habitually attentive and impress him deeply with any truth affecting the senses let him have several restless days before he finds out the truth. If it fails to impress him, make him see it more distinctly by reversing the problem.

If he does not know how the sun passes from its setting to its rising, he at least does not know how it travels from its rising to its setting ; he can see it with his eyes. Explain your first question by the second and if the pupil is not absolutely dull, the analogy is so clear that he cannot escape it. This is his first lesson in cosmography.[2]

The child should not be shown the representation of a thing unless it is impossible to show the thing itself, because the sign robs the child of his attention and makes him lose sight of the thing signified. The ordinary sphere seems to Rousseau to be poorly designed and badly proportioned. Its confused circles and odd figures, giving it the look of a conjurer's apparatus, are enough to scare the child. The earth is too small ; the circles are too many and too large. The colours for example, are entirely useless. Every circle is larger than the earth. The pasteboard gives them the appearance of solidity which creates the mistaken impression that they are circular masses which really exist. When say to the child that these are imaginary circles he understands neither what he sees nor what you mean.[3]

[1] Rousseau, J. J., *Emile*, tr. by Eleanor Worthington, pp. 125-26.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 127.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 128-29.

Conclusion :—Rousseau raised his protest against the decadent Renaissance practices of drilling ancient classics into the mind of young scholars and of teaching them dry school subjects having no connection with the realities of life. He following the foot-steps of verbal realists, sense-realists and social realists advocated the education of young scholars through sense-perception in the midst of natural surroundings under an ideal tutor. He is the fore-runner of modern child-study and nature-study movements and his educational philosophy exerted a profound influence upon the curricula and the method of teaching in the elementary schools through Pestalozzi, the great Swiss educational reformer of the nineteenth century who, demonstrated to the world through experiments the feasibility of the fundamental educational principles of Rousseau propounded in the Emile.

INDIA IN THE POETRY OF THOMAS CAMPBELL

RABINDRA KUMAR DASGUPTA

POETRY of freedom in modern English literature is remarkable for its reticence about the political subjection of India. This indifference to a conspicuous instance of political bondage in our days is curious. Even a dispassionate reader who does not consider this exclusion as an offence to his country, is shocked at it. And it presents to him a problem which cannot be easily solved. Critics who would set themselves on the task of defending the authors of such poetry may suggest that their silence about India is similar to the neglect which naturally befalls a very chronic patient; that the perils in Europe are too acute and engrossing to allow them to extend their attention to India. But when we consider that poetry of freedom is to-day something more profound than an expression of the patriotic sentiment, that it is inspired by ideas which go deep into the fundamental causes of subjugation and tyranny, such an interpretation appears to be altogether ineffective. Auden and Isherwood's *Ascent of F*[6], a drama which has been conceived as an allegorical exposition of the inner working of capitalistic and imperialistic politics shows that the British Muse is not entirely ignorant of the baneful consequences of the political and economic ambition of Great Britain. It is thus strange that the English poets who have shed tears over the oppressed peoples of Europe, who have indicted the ruthlessness of greedy capital and aggressive political enterprise, should maintain absolute silence regarding the miseries of India.

Indians have a number of friends in England who understand their sufferings and who have strained every nerve to present their cause to their countrymen. The pro-Indian tradition in British political thought started by Burke, Sheridan and Fox has been considerably weakened but it has not altogether disappeared. But not a single contemporary English poet, appears to receive from the Indian scene even a fraction of his enthusiasm for freedom and democracy. Like the Atlantic Charter his poetry refers only to

the West. In 1938 Victor Gollancz published an anthology entitled *Poems of Freedom* with an introduction by W. H. Auden. In the whole volume which contains one hundred and sixty-nine pieces there is no direct and notable reference to India. It is indeed surprising that the editor should not include in this collection any of the Indian passages from the poetry of Cowper and Campbell who are the only two British poets making the thraldom of India the theme of some of their verses. The incorporation of a portion of these passages would have at least partially redeemed the deplorable apathy to the Indian question which characterises the poetry of freedom in England. British poets like British Liberals are all India-blind, a fact that indicates the extent to which the English ruling class has succeeded in restraining the English intellect from interfering with its business. It is, however, not altogether unlikely that some will be inclined to suspect the sincerity and depth of the poems of freedom which do not contain a single reference to a great country groaning under a foreign rule. Athenian democracy could boast of an Aristophanes who challenged the good-sense of the Athenian Government inspite of the persecution to which he was subjected. But the democratic movement in modern England has not produced any poet who could display such boldness and candour. Great Britain is lucky that her national poets always keep their passion for freedom within proper and convenient limits.

But in the latter part of the 18th century at least a few of the English poets, who were inspired with the ideal of freedom and political justice, showed great concern for the destinies of India. The various India Bills that were then introduced in Parliament, the impeachment of Warren Hastings, and the reports of the Secret and Select Committees on the East India Company roused the interest of the British public in Indian affairs. It is evident that Cowper and Campbell gathered their information about Indian conditions mainly from what was then said about the East India Company in the House of Commons. Coleridge never makes any particular reference to the Indian situation in any of his poems. But the severe indictment of the misdeeds of the British abroad which is contained in his poem entitled *Fears in Solitude* is obviously a criticism of the English traders in India. And the passage in question is reminiscent of an observation of Burke made in his speech on Fox's India Bill of 1783. Alarmed by the prospect of an invasion of his country by

France, Coleridge recounts the crimes of his nation which, according to the poet, had brought the danger upon it:

> " We have offended, Oh ! my countrymen:
> We have offended very grievously,
> And been most tyrannous. From East to West
> A groan of accusation pierces Heaven:
> The wretched plead against us; multitudes
> Countless and vehement, the sons of God,
> Our breathren ! Like a cloud that travels on
> Steamed up from Cairo's swamps of pestilence
> Even so, my countrymen ! have we gone forth
> And borne to distant tribes slavery and pangs,
> And, deadlier far, our vices, whose deep taint
> With slow perdition murders the whole man,
> His body and his soul ! "

The first few lines of this quotation suggest an analogy with a statement made by Burke in the speech mentioned above, " The cries of India are given to seas and winds, to be blown about in every breaking up of the monsoon over a remote and unhearing ocean." It is, perhaps, the covertness of Coleridge's allusion to India that has encouraged the editor of the *Poems of Freedom* to include the lines in his selection. Aldous Huxley has quoted this passage in his *Text and Pretext*, and it may not be altogether irrelevant to reproduce here Huxley's comment on it, " The modern conscience is inclined to endorse Coleridge's judgment rather than Kipling's." The only other poem with any reference to India that the editor has selected is a sonnet of Wordsworth in which the poet blames England by saying:

> " If for Greece, Egypt, India, Africa
> Aught good were destined thou wouldst step between."

But this reference is hardly of much importantce.

Campbell's references to India and Britain's connection with her is far more elaborate and detailed. As a true lover and spirited exponent of freedom and justice Campbell was next only to Byron and Shelley. The revolutionary enthusiasm of Wordsworth soon languished into a sober conservatism. He may not have been seduced by riband or by silver, but nothing can save him from the opprobrium

of a deserter. Coleridge began as a Republican, but his pantisocratic ideal ended only in some frisking with the Frickers on the banks of Susquehanna. Southey's Liberalism left him as soon as he became the Poet Laureate. Byron and Shelley stuck to their revolutionary ideal with an unabating ardour; but neither of them took any notice of India.

Campbell was an uncompromising Whig even in his early youth. His father was an obstinate Tory and his talks with the poet often ripened into a hot debate, Beattie, Campbell's biographer, quotes from an account which records that "Collisions between Whig and Tory were not unfrequent in their evening conversations, and were little to the taste of the ladies, who with all respect for the cleverness of the preceptor, entertained a natural partiality for the opinions and the supremacy of their father." But there was no wild impetuosity or theoretical transcendentalism in his love of freedom. He shared the fervour of Byron but not his spasmodic craze. He had the vision of Shelley but it was never sublimated into sheer metaphysics. His political idealism was nourished by a sympathy that was homelier and more direct than that of either Byron or Shelley. "I have a vivid recollection," said Lord Cunninghame and "of having taken Campbell to the closing scene in court, of a capital trial of a man who was condemned to death for embezzling money from letters. Nothing could excel the pain that Campbell felt at this exhibition. He left the court in tears and denounced our whole system as barbaric and cruel." The trial of the two Scottish Reformers, Gerald and Muir, which he witnessed at Edinburgh made a lasting impression on the mind of young Campbell. His biographer rightly observes that it had considerable influence in "strengthening and confirming those early principles, the strict observance of which, on all subsequent occasions, gave him that title of political consistency to which he so religiously adhered." In his verses there is very little of mere abstraction or pure philosophy. He makes direct references to the particular and concrete instances of political oppression and social injustice. He joined the Polish Association of his country with tremendous enthusiasm and openly denounced the execrable neutrality of the British regarding the Russian invasion of Poland. *Exile of Erin*, a poem on a youngman of the name of Anthony McCann, who was banished for his complicity with the Irish rebellion of 1798, roused the suspicion of the Government that he was a revolutionary. His books and papers were searched but he was

released when he showed the Sheriff his well-known poem *Ye Mariners of England.*

The Pleasures of Hope, in which Campbell gives expression to his feelings for the Indian people, was published in 1799 when the poet was only 22 years of age. In the second half of the first part of this poem he reflects upon the sufferings of three nations then conspicuous for their enslavement to foreign power, namely Poland, Africa and India. The Polish struggle for freedom very naturally brings to his mind the British oppression in India: for Campbell severely condemned the callousness of the British Government to the sufferings of Poland. He is one of the most bitter critics of the ignoble neutrality of contemporary British statesmanship. In his *Lines on Poland,* written much later, he refers to it with a note of irony:

> " Britannia on the spoiler and the spoiled
> Might calmly look and, asking time to breathe,
> Still honourably wear her olive wreath."

It will occur to any reader of the *Pleasures of Hope* that the passages regarding India are the most remarkable things in it. It is significant that Campbell winds up the political part of his poem with a prophecy about the regeneration of India as a free country. The poet might have felt that the dealings of Britain with India were an instance of the most abject and hateful type of political oppression and that the hope of freedom in the world lay on the disappearance of British tyranny from India.

The Indian passages in the *Pleasures of Hope* may be divided into four sections dealing with four separate themes. The first section refers to the Muhammadan conquest of India and all the miseries that followed from it. Here the poet pays a high tribute to the indomitable spirit of the people of Hindusthan who did not sell their soul to the invader. The brilliant apostrophe with which the poet introduces India in the poem is remarkable for a truth and beauty of description which one hardly expects from a person who had never been to India:

> " Ye orient realms, where Ganges' waters run !
> Prolific fields ! dominions of the sun !
> How long your tribes have trembled and obeyed !
> How long was Timour's iron sceptre swayed !

Whose marshalled hosts, the lions of the plain,
From Scythia's northern mountains to the main,
Raged o'er your plundered shrines and altars bare
With blazing torch and gory scimitar,
Stunned with the cries of death each gentle gale
And bathed in blood the verdure of the vale
Yet could no pangs the immortal spirit tame,
When Brama's children perished for his name;
The martyr smiled beneath avenging power,
And braved the tyrant in his torturing hour!"

In the second section Campbell speaks of the Britishers in India who instead of taking the role of liberators subjected the country to a more cruel slavery:

"When Europe sought your subject realms to gain
And stretched her giant sceptre o'er the main,
Taught her proud barks their winding way to shape,
And braved the stormy spirit of the Cape;
Children of Brama! then was mercy nigh
To wash the stain of blood's eternal dye?
Did Peace descend, to triumph and to save,
When freeborn Britons crossed the Indian wave?
Ah, no! to more than Rome's ambition true,
The Nurse of Freedom gave it not to you,
She the bold route of Europe's guilt began,
And, in the march of nations, led the van!"

The third part deals with the cruel ways of British traders in India. Cowper too makes reproachful references to the ruthless avarice of the English merchants; but in Campbell the allusion is more direct and specific. The privilege of free trade which the East India Company arbitrarily extended to internal commerce enabled the officers of the Company to exploit India to their best advantage. The pernicious practices of the British traders provoked even their own countrymen who frankly criticised their monstrous avarice in India. The vicious way in which the factors of the East India Company ensured their monopoly has been elaborately dealt with by all the historians of Indian economics. The cruelty of the gomastahs who at the instance of their British masters forced the Indian producers to sell their articles at an absurdly low price reduced the whole country

to a state of utter destitution. The Company by threats or by cajoling succeeded in locking up all the stocks so as to secure the high profit of monopoly business, Campbell condemns these practices with a vigour which could be matched only by Burke:

> " Rich in the gems of India's gaudy zone,
> And plunder piled from kingdoms not their own,
> Degenerate Trade, thy minions could despise,
> Could lock, with impious hands, their teeming store,
> While famished nations died along the shore:
> Could mock the groans of fellow-men, and bear
> The curse of kingdoms peopled with despair ;
> Could stamp disgrace on man's polluted name,
> And barter, with their gold, eternal shame !"

The fourth and the last section is a prophecy of the extirpation of the British from India and the emergence of the country as a free nation. This part, by far the largest of the four, may be studied under three heads. First, the poet conjures up the vision of the Indians bowing heads to their God in the hope of redemption while the skies resound with thunders that proclaim a rebirth:

> " But hark ! as bowed to earth the Bramin kneels,
> From heavenly climes propitious thunder peals !
> Of India's fate her guardian spirits tell,
> Prophetic murmurs breathing on the shell,
> And solemn sounds that awe the listening mind,
> Roll on the azure paths of every wind."

Secondly, he utters a prophecy supposed to be spoken by the guardian spirits of India's fate:

> " Foes of mankind !' her guardian spirits say,
> ' Revolving ages bring the bitter day,
> When Heaven's unerring arm shall fall on you,
> And blood for blood these Indian plains bedew;
> Nine times have Brama's wheels of lighting hurled
> His awful presence o'er the alarmed world ;
> Nine times hath Guilt, through all his giant frame,
> Convulsive trembled, as the Mighty came,
> Nine times hath suffering Mercy spared in vain
> But Heaven shall burst her starry gates again !

He comes ! dread Brama shakes the sunless sky
With murmuring wrath, and thunders from on high ;
Heaven's fiery horse, beneath his warrior form,
Paws the light clouds, and gallops on the storm ;
Wide waves his flickering sword ; his bright arms glow
Like summer suns, and light the world below !
Earth, and her trembling isles in Ocean's bed,
Are shock, and Nature rocks beneath his tread !"

The last stanza is a continuation of the prophecy in which Campbell, Cassandralike, foretells the dethronement of India's oppressor by the 'Kalki':

" To pour redress on India's injured realm,
The oppressor to dethrone, the proud to whelm,
To chase destruction from her plundered shore
With arts and arms that triumphed once before,
The tenth Avatar comes ! at Heaven's command
Shall Seriswattee wave her hallowed wand !
And Camdeo bright, and Ganesa sublime,
Shall bless with joy their own propitious clime !
Come, Heavenly Powers ! primeval peace restore !
Love ! Mercy ! Wisdom ! rule for evermore !"

It is this long and inspired prophecy which distinguishes Campbell's verses on India from those of Cowper. The Indian passages of Cowper are an expression of his contempt for the British merchants in India and of his sympathy for the people who groaned under their oppression. But Campbell is more pointedly revolutionary in his attitude towards the Indian question. He appears to have a better knowledge of India and her history than Cowper or any other contemporary poet. It is probable that he gathered his information about Indian mythology from John Leyden who was for some time a friend of Campbell and who gained reputation as an orientalist even before he had been to India. Campbell's partiotism did not make him blind to the shortcomings of his country. "My country right or wrong" was not his motto. To him freedom meant something more than national sovereignty. Liberty to him signified both privilege and obligation, a bliss and a trust. This lofty attitude towards the ideal of freedom urges Campbell to extend its scope beyond the frontiers of his own continent.

HUMOUR*

CYRIL MODAK

HUMOUR is the spice of life. It seasons monotony with a chuckle. It robs tragedy of its dull ache. The uninitiated look down on humour as a polite name for the comic. With staid dignity they refuse to be tempted. Their Puritan economy considers laughter a sin. So they hold their faces taut and solemn. But neither the humorist nor any of his readers need to fall into Steele's categories of 'Dimplers', 'Smilers', 'Laughers', 'Grinners', or 'Horse-laughers'. If by chance anyone does qualify for one of these badges, he need not be ashamed. It is a natural phenomenon to be accepted like sneezing. Steele concludes his admirable essay on *Laughter* thus: "Beauty is never so lovely as when adorned with the smile, and conversation never sits easier upon us, than when we now and then discharge ourselves in a symphony of laughter, which may not improperly be called the chorus of conversation." Humour is as far from the tragic as it is from the comic, a boon of the Olympians not to be measured in mortal speech.

A street beggar in a tattered frock-coat and an old top-hat, a millionaire quarrelling with a taxi-driver over nothing more than an anna, a boy absorbed in imitating his irate father, strike us as incongruous, and we smile. The beggar, the millionaire, and the boy by themselves are quite natural. But the particular circumstance in which we find each makes it ironical. The moralist looks at the ironies of life and strains religiously to scowl them away. The economist looks at them and tries to dissolve them in the acid of surplus-value. The humanist turns his face away from them and invokes the glittering Greek of old to give this perverse generation human dignity. But the humorist is not so stupid. He sets incongruities against the Norm, as one might a silly mask beside a lovely face, and makes us laugh at the absurd freaks of life, the boyish pranks of fate.

A sense of humour is the perception of relative values outside the fog of personal, social or religious predilections. It is the good-natured habit of looking at facts and incidents, even unpleasant and cruel ones, not as an affront to our swaggering little egos, but set

* To the memory of Mary Modak, who taught me in her beautiful life that a sense of humour prevents one from being stupid about oneself.—C. M.

against the majestic proportions of the Infinite and Eternal. We can then smile at the dwarf-size of these incongruities. Most people would like the universe to treat them as if they were Brobdignagians in Liliput. The humorist enables them to laugh and see that they are actually Liliputians in Brobdignag. A sense of humour is a sense of balance, a sense of proportion, not like that of Jeremiah wildly lamenting what is not, but like that of Jesus turning to the lilies of the field to point out the absurdity of petty cares. This does not imply that humour like music or the drama has a religious basis. The authentic humorist is an amiable practical philosopher who educates while entertaining and corrects with the pleasant lashes of laughter rather than with intimidating frowns. He leaves us jesting at our own foibles. Under his spell society begins to ridicule its own evils. He reveals the ridiculous irrationality of what once seemed grave and intolerable and insinuates his verdict with roguish suavity and contagious mirth. Clearly, then, the true humorist is as rare as genius and as specially talented.

Much that has passed for humour since Aristophanes found his first lounge suit, and much that would impersonate the role of humour today, is little better than vulgarity decked out in the livery of literature. But, happily, there is the better and refined class of humour, as of everything else, and it is this with which we are concerned. It is not flippant. It is not frivolous. Genuine humour is serious. Could Charles Lamb desire to be flippant under the dreaded shadows of Mary's insanity ? Would Mark Twain feel inclined to be frivolous when he lived with sorrow and disappointment? Had Charles Dickens not endured enough to be sobered out of all trifling jocularity? Yet, these three may be ranked among the greatest humorists in the world of English Letters. Flippancy and gracelessness are given short shrift by critics of good literature. In fact, it is often one who has suffered greatly who can be a great humorist. Constant success and happiness distort our sense of proportion. Frustrations and distresses keep our sense of values from atrophy. A thoroughly and consistently successful man may be witty. But the humorist must have a soul made sensitive through pain to the feelings of others.

The question arises: Are wit and satire on the one hand, and burlesque and buffoonery on the other, distinct from humour? Wit is brilliant and satire keen like a sword. The clown in his cap and bells is often amusing and impertinent. On many an occasion the

jester like Birbal has whispered words of wise counsel into his sovereign's ear. The wit and the satirist have frequently administered the pungent medicine of good sense to society. But 'though wit may flash from fluent lips ' it is not genial like humour; and though a burlesque may impart much wisdom it lacks the dignity of good humour.

A scintillating expression, a clever turn, an apt paradox or epigram, a retort like a rapier-thrust may be witty. Bernard Shaw was doing his duty at a charity ball. He asked a dowager to dance. As they waltzed she simpered, "Oh, Mr. Shaw, whatever made you ask poor little me to dance?" The witty Bernard Shaw replied, "This is a charity ball, isn't it?" Or take this example from Walter Savage Landor, "Opinion on most matters, but chiefly on literary, and above all on poetical, seems to me like an empty egg-shell in a duck-pond, turned on its stagnant water by the slightest breath of air; at one moment the cracked side nearer to view, at another the sounder, but the emptiness at all times visible." Or take the caustic lines of Oscar Wilde,

"The chaplain would not kneel to pray
By his dishonoured grave.
Nor mark it with that blessed Cross
That Christ for sinners gave,
Because the man was one of those
Whom Christ came down to save."

Satire is a sharpened form of wit levelled at a definite target which may be a person or institution. Satire has perhaps never been used with the staggering recklessness of Voltaire. The French Revolution would have been postponed for a hundred years had he not speeded it up with his merciless volleys of satirical torpedoes. In this century Voltaire has found a brilliant and intrepid successor in Bernard Shaw. Although, it must be said that while Voltaire did not mind sending out his satires in Adam's apparel, Shaw insists on giving his at least a bathing suit. Take the following as a polished example of satire. Stephen Leacock says, "If I were founding a university—and I say it with all the seriousness of which I am capable —I would first found a smoking-room; then when I had a little more money in hand I would found a dormitory; then after that, or more probably with it, a decent reading-room and library.

After that, if I still had more money that I couldn't use I would hire a professor and get some text-books."

A more typical example of satire is found in the following passage from Bernard Shaw, " At the University every great treatise is postponed until its author attains impartial judgment and perfect knowledge. If a horse could wait as long for its shoes and could pay for them in advance, our blacksmiths would all be college dons." Satire does have an ingredient of the humorous but it is conscious of its function of censorship far more than humour. The first two commandments of the Decalogue of Humour are: Thou shalt not kill (or hurt any mortal's feelings). Thou shalt not bow down to nor worship the didactic muse. The first two commandments of the Decalogue of Satire are: Thou shalt not spare any person or institution. Thou shalt not flinch from injecting morals.

Burlesque depends on wit for its success but makes the ridiculous publicly ridiculed. It is not as subtle as satire and not as gentle as humour. For those who suffer from chronic insensibility burlesque and buffoonery are the only remedies. Some irrationalities in society or some unwholesome freaks in a class or institution can be corrected only if they are ridiculed in an obvious almost rustic fashion. This is the function of burlesque. Sheridan offers a nice example of burlesque in Mrs. Malaprop's speech, " Observe me, Sir Anthony. I would by no means wish a daughter of mine to be a progeny of learning ; I don't think so much learning becomes a young woman ; for instance, I would never let her meddle with Greek or Hebrew, or algebra, or simony, or fluctions, or paradoxes, or such inflammatory branches of learning . . . neither would it be necessary for her to handle any of your mathematical, astronomical, diabolical instruments. But, Sir Anthony, I would send her at nine years old, to a boarding school, in order to learn a little ingenuity and artifice. Then, Sir, she should have a supercilious knowledge in accounts ; and as she grew up, I would have her instructed in geometry, that she might know something of the contagious countries; but above all, Sir Anthony, she should be mistress of orthodoxy that she should not mis-spell and mis-pronounce words so shamefully as girls usually do ; and likewise that she might reprehend the true meaning of what she is saying."

A more extreme form of ridicule than burlseque is buffoonery. It conveys a truth by poking fun at popular false notions and pre-

judices which are dragged through the public thoroughfares in their most ludicrous guises. It draws on the comic for its effect. It is probably the commonest form of ridicule known to the human race. In its less sophisticated form it may be observed in the quarrel between two fishwives. With her gesticulating hands and rolling eyes and facial contortions and vocal mimicry each ridicules the other until the climax is reached and their fury abates in panting exhaustion. Buffoonery needs action and setting to be fully expressive. Hence it is found chiefly in life and the drama. Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor* provides an excellent example. Mrs. Ford and Mrs. Page set out to teach Sir John Falstaff that 'wives may be merry and yet honest too'. Falstaff is with Mrs. Ford. Mrs. Page comes in, and says, "For shame! . . . bethink you of some conveyance: in the house you cannot hide him . . . Look, here is a basket: if he be of any reasonable stature, he may creep in here; and throw foul linen upon him, as if it were going to bucking . . ." Falstaff gets into the basket. They cover him up with soiled linen. He is carried out and thrown into the Thames. And then Falstaff confesses to Mr. Ford whom he does not recognise, "I suffered the the pangs of three several deaths: first, an intolerable fright, to be detected by a jealous rotten bell-weather; next to be compassed, like a good bilbo, in a circumference of a peck, hilt to point, heel to head; and then to be stopped in like a strong distillation, with stinking clothes that fretted in their greese . . . And . . . like a Dutch dish to be thrown into the Thames."

Compare with these an example of pure humour, exquisite and authentic, from a comparatively little known writer. In *According to Maria*, Mrs. Lane says, "But don't people who write have an easy time? Now I feel positive that the very biggest kind of a novel wouldn't cost five shillings for paper and possibly tupence for ink, and yet I've heard that some people who write novels make more than Smith Limited with shops all over London, and goodness knows how much they pay in rent. I call that unfair. And when it comes to poetry I don't suppose the paper Shakespeare used cost fivepence, including a pencil (Diana always writes with pencil) and what they ask for a copy when I want to buy one, only I never do, is just wicked." Or take this from E. V. Lucas, "Bush, I ought to say, has lately been tried by a succession of new dogs; and although the present puppy is his most powerful super-dog, he allowed all to

acquire an improper influence and knuckled under with deplorable tameness. The first interloper was an Aberdeen, who taught him to rove. Before that he had never left the garden alone ; now he began to absent himself for hours, sometimes whole nights. It was all Scottie's doing, one could see. That small but insidious creature was of original sin compact . . . was everything that Bush was not. Scottie was unwilling, disobedient, independent, impenitent. When we went out for a walk he started punctually enough ; but he returned alone. At what point he disappeared, I never knew. He dissolved."

In twentieth-century Literature it is not a new species of humour that we find, but a changed nuance which harmonizes with the altered literary emphasis, and, is, therefore, modern, and yet, being the same in quality as the *New Comedy* of Diphilus and Menander, is ancient also. The explosive disillusionment that followed the catastrophe of the War of 1914-18 forced reconstructions in all departments of civilised life. Even Victorian solemnity was blasted. Men and women were shaken out of their somnambulent gravity. They stared at the havoc that had been wrought to 'make the world safe for democracy'. They challenged old superstitions. For them nothing was irreverant any longer. They had to take stock of things and values. Against the fading smoke of guns and the nightmare of those four frightful years the incongruity of inherited codes and sanctimonious ideals stood out in cubistic relief. The post-war generation felt it had been duped. Those who had no sense of values flung everything to the winds. In the desperation of dreams betrayed and blasted hopes, they sought primitive pastimes with all the enthusiasm of a dog on a flea-hunt. Those who had a sense of humour mused with a bright gleam in their eyes. They quietly got up and threw out much of the excess mental and religious furniture that cluttered up their lives. Some were shocked. Others understood and followed suit. And "The Londoner" could write, "There is no saying to what we may come or how we shall earn tomorrow's bread in this world that pitches and tosses in a gale of change. Any day might see my business of selling words fail me ; might see me, instead, selling bone collar studs and india-rubber umbrella rings. *I hope that I should take that change calmly.* Much could be said in favour of the collar stud industry : he who follows it lives under the open sky and sees life." One cannot imagine Macaulay saying anything quite so sensible, so free from prejudice.

So it was that much that was redundant came to be discarded in the material as well as the thought world. Women emerged in comfortably abbreviated dresses. Men emerged in delightfully abbreviated self-consciousness. The copiousness of Victorian garments, the sumptuousness of Victorian institutionalism, the profusion in general of Victorian trappings in mode of life and mode of speech, were unmistakable symptoms of the frequent pre-occupation of Empire-loving Victorians with their own invincible selves. The post-war generation was nettled into sufficient objectivity to be able to discern this. They derided subjective illusions. In the Literature of this period there are few writers as self-conscious as Carlyle and Ruskin, Macaulay and Pater, Thackeray and Dickens. The humour of the twentieth-century too is released from the self-conscious 'grand style' of the preceding age. It is democratic. It moves with easy grace and freedom as much in the kitchen as in a manorial drawing-room. It greets everything without discomfiture.

The self-conscious humour of the Victorian age may be illustrated by a passage from *Pickwick Papers*. "Two letters have passed between these parties, letters which are admitted to be in the handwriting of the defendant and which speak volumes indeed. These letters too bespeak the character of the man. They are not open, fervent, eloquent epistles, breathing nothing but the language of affectionate attachment. They are covert, sly, underhanded communications, but, fortunately, far more conclusive than if couched in the most glowing language and the most poetic imagery . . . letters which must be viewed with a cautious and suspicious eye . . . letters which were evidently intended at the time by Pickwick to mislead and delude any third parties into whose hands they might fall. Let me read the first:—'Garraway's, twelve o'clock. Dear Mrs. B. . . . Chops and Tomato Sauce. Yours, Pickwick.' . . . Gentlemen, what does this mean? Chops and Tomato Sauce! Yours, Pickwick! Chops! Gracious heavens! and Tomato Sauce! Gentlemen, is the happiness of a sensitive and confiding female to be trifled away by such shallow artifices as these?"

The jest at the lawyer's trick of turning a veritable mole-hill into a Himalayan mountain is obviously self-conscious. Compare with it a passage from R. S. Hooper's *On Having a Cold*, which also has an element of playful exaggeration but is free from the effect of a deliberately wrought piece of self-conscious writing. "Being

wise and patient, I shall not cheat myself into thinking by doing all these things to cure my cold. No one can cure a cold. Some people, but very few, can prevent it coming by being careless and never wearing thick underclothes, but to cure a cold when once it has come upon you—it is absurd. No. My cold has come. I drink hot drinks, I swallow tabloids, I embrace hot-water bottles, not because I am fool enough to think I shall cure it. Rather because, knowing that it will stay as long as it likes, I realize that old customs are old customs, and must be honoured, not in the breach, but in the observance. My cold expects it. It knows as well as I do that I shall be feeling no better in the morning But by Easter . . . Who *nose*? "

The flavour of a mild humour permeates much of the good literature of today. Instead of having a few specialists of humorous writing (as in the nineteenth and earlier centuries) we have today the humorist's approach to life shared by many acknowledged writers. These deeply subtle, vastly sympathetic minds, disillusioned and earnest, meet the universe frankly, evading none of its irrationalities, but turn the attention of the readers from the tragic to the ludicrous aspect of the ironies of circumstance. Humour is no longer a separate department of Letters. It is a pervasive flavour within Literature. Whether it is Mary Roberts Rinehart holding forth on the inimitable Tish and her numerous disasters, or P. G. Woodhouse telling some tale from his jovial Ukridge saga, or Booth Tarkington relating the boyish exploits of Penrod ; whether it is E. V. Lucas talking of a waiter's first experience of betting or Robert Lynd telling us how much we love noise ; whether it is Chesterton castigating the votaries of the wealthy or A. A. Milne furnishing artists with self-confidence ; whether it is Stephen Leacock satirizing the wastefulness of Harvard and Oxford or Ian Hay chuckling over the patience with which citizens endure the inconveniences thrust upon them by nonchalant city fathers ; there is in the approach to life and to things an undefinable sense of the ludicrous which calls forth a hearty laugh to purge the soul. F. H. Pritchard says, "Here we may see human frailties pilloried no less effectively because they have been so treated with a good-humoured laugh. More is wrought by humour than by polemics, and the need for that salutary service which the humorist alone can render was never greater than it is now."

Modern humour, being more spontaneous and self-forgetful than

that of the Victorian age, has a lighter touch. Of course, it cannot be said that all the humour of the last century was ponderous. It is not true that all the humorists of our day can rival the delicate touch of the gentle Elia. But it would be admitted by most critics that in general modern humour has an air of easy self-confidence which is the natural concomitant of a rational outlook. This difference may be illustrated by citing two older authors, Addison and Steele. They wrote in the same age, for the same paper. Yet Addison is often more at ease and has a lighter vein of humour than his colleague. Here is a passage from Steele on *Fashionable Affectations*. "About five years ago, I remember, it was the fashion to be short-sighted. A man would not own an acquaintance until he had first examined him with his glass. At a lady's entrance into the playhouse, you might see tubes immediately levelled at her from every quarter of the pit and side-boxes. However, that mode of infirmity is out, and the age has recovered its sight: but the blind seem to be succeeded by the lame, and a jaunty limp is the present beauty."

Steele's humour moves like an angel in boots, Addison's like the Japanese *geisha*, Lafcadio Hearne describes, 'smiling and flitting as in dreams.' Compare this passage from Addison more or less on the same general theme, "There is an infinite variety of motions to be made use of in the Flutter of the Fan: there is the angry flutter, the modest flutter, the timorous flutter, the confused flutter, the merry flutter, and the amorous flutter. Not to be tedious there is scarce any emotion in the mind which does not produce a suitable agitation in the fan; insomuch, that if I only see the fan of a disciplined lady, I know very well whether she laughs, frowns, or blushes. I have seen a fan so very angry, that it would have been dangerous for the absent lover who provoked it to have come within the wind of it; and at other times so languishing, that I have been glad for the lady's sake the lover was at a sufficient distance from it." Perhaps, in this respect Addison is more modern than his colleague.

Writing has lost its nineteenth-century formality and so has modern humour. We find sparkling insights in many an informal quip. Many a friendly jest conveys unnoticed truths. This tone of intimacy in twentieth-century literature becomes pleasing as we learn to appreciate the good-humoured philosophy of life that has followed the disillusionment of the Kaiserian War. But if humour today is pervasive, it is evasive also. When we are in the last century and

chance on Dickens we expect rumbles of laughter, and, being expectant, we miss nothing. But today there is a much greater chance of our failing to catch sparks and evanescent flashes from the pages of writers who are not avowed humorists, who, like W. W. Jacobs have written grim stories, or sternly critical essays like Chesterton's, but who are also capable of surprising us with gusts of merry laughter. To perceive anything beyond the merest literal meaning of a passage of good writing demands a developed literary taste. The best humour is subtle, and unless we are intellectually alert and growingly conscious of literary values, we shall be deprived of much of its esoteric delight. For instance, H. G. Wells says, " His studies were pursued but never effectually overtaken." Or Jerome K. Jerome says, " I like work ; it fascinates me. I can sit and look at it for hours." Such humour, that is not announced with a blare of trumpets and not signalised by a sentinel-like mark of exclamation, will be drowned in the clamour of the world, the flesh, and the devil unless our literary sensibility has been aroused and disciplined by the truest of all education, that which a man gives himself.

Or we may even catch the jest but miss the meaning of the jest. Thousands of Bernard Shaw's devotees refuse to take him seriously. Hundreds of Jerome K. Jerome's admirers get little of the serious import of his wit and humour. The authentic humorist delivers his message not in a sermon but in a sally. He catches us unawares. If we miss the fun or the core of meaning hidden within, it is our well-deserved punishment. He sets contrasts in such an array as to provoke laughter but the laughter is only a stimulant. He wants our minds to step merrily under a cold shower-bath and come out with the fretful feeling of self-bloatedness gone, leaving a tingle of disillusionment. We can then meet the jibes of fortune with a jest, not callously, but with philosophic poise. An ounce of humour of the genuine brew cures the delirium of reformers and the tantrums of egotists. It revives the heart-broken and breaks the heart-breaker. To the afflicted, inviting death in despair, it vouchsafes the energy to take up his bed and walk. To the optimist it gives clear-sightedness to see not men as trees walking but trees as men vegetating. It makes ordinary mortals super-men and super-men human. And to all it gives urbanity in life and a smile in death. For the lack of a sense of humour, earnestness and virtue, ambition and effort often put on an exceedingly comical aspect.

SOUTH INDIAN LANGUAGES IN THE COLLEGE OF FORT WILLIAM

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THE provisions in the College of Fort William extended mainly to the north Indian languages such as Hindi and also to Indian Jurisprudence. The general idea prevailing was that no such provision actually existed with reference to Tamil, Telugu and Kanarese though these languages were mentioned by name in the original memorandum that led to the foundation of the College in 1800.

On looking into the records of the College of Fort William, dated the 12th January, 1804, we find that, of the languages of South India, Tamil had two Indian Moonshees on the staff and Kanara one, each appointed on a fixed pay of Rs. 200 only, and from the point of view of pay, equal in status to the Chief Moonshee in a major Department like Bengalee or Hindoostanee ; it will be convenient to judge the relative status when we remember that at the same time Carey, "teacher of the Bengalee and Sanskrit Languages," was drawing Rs. 500 per month, John Gilchrist Rs. 1,500, the Provost Rs. 2,500 ; C. W. Pazold was the teacher of the "Tamulin" language and on a pay or allowance of Rs. 500. Towards the end of the month the decision must have been taken to transfer the teachers of south Indian languages to Madras as we may find out from the following communication :

"To

John Lumsden, Esq.,

Chief Secretary to Government.

Sir,

His Excellency had directed that the salaries of Mr. Pazold, the Tamul Teacher, the 2 Tamul Moonshees and the Kanara Moonshee shall be paid up to the end of this month and that a passage should be taken for them by the first ship of Madras, where it is His Excellency's intention that their functions shall be revived. . . . Their passage money to be paid by Government. . . .

The Kanara Moonshee being Brahmin goes by Land . . . .

Yours faifhfully,
(Signed) C. Buchanan,
30th January, 1804."

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But a later account, dated the 23rd March, 1816, and addressed by the Chief Secretary to the Government to the President and members of the Council of the College of Fort William, contains a recommendation for the discharge of the Telugu and Carnatic Pundits not required, which would mean a saving of Rs. 60 per mensem or Rs. 720 per year. Carey in that year writes on the Kurnata Pundit, Bhuruta Ramuna, attached to him on a pay of thirty rupees per month, as well as the Telugu Pundit, Soodurshuma, on the same rank and cadre of service, as follows, "The men have been of much service to me in writing Grammars of these two languages, and upon all occasions connected with the literature of the Peninsula. But as these two languages properly fall under the care of Madras Government, I can assign no other reason for retaining them on the College Establishment than the rememberance of their past services, and the smalness of their respective salaries."[1] Consequent on this report and recommendation, the Council of the College, in the proceedings held on the 12th February, 1816, resolved "as the Telinga and Kurnata languages are not taught in the College, nor required for any of the Company's servants on their Establishment, that the Telinga Pundit Soodur Surma, and the Karnata Pundit Bhuruta Rumuna, be discharged at the end of the present month, with an advance of their respective pay (of 30 rupees each) for such further period as may be requisite for their return to their place of residence; information of which to be obtained and communicated by the Professor."

Apparently, the sending away of these teachers was due to the need felt somewhere of not concentrating the work meant for all India to any one Presidency in particular. There was an attempt at planning, and provincial jealousies may have played their part. We may, however, remember that scholars like Carey were never debarred from carrying on researches in the different languages of India, and that a grammar of the Telugu language formed one of the strokes of Carey's pen, daring in its undertaking of linguistic studies running close to genius.

[1] Letter, dated 2nd February, 1816 (Home Department, Record No. 36, dated 6th April, 1816).

SOME ASPECTS OF BUDDHIST ART AND CULTURE (MAINLY MAHĀYĀNA)

GURU DAS SARKAR

IN Mahāyāna Buddhist paintings, the portrait of the historical Buddha finds no place. The gods and goddesses are 'ethical emanations,' and the hieratic paintings of this school are mythical and unhistorical. Their allegoric and symbolic nature will be apparent from the representations of the Dhyāni Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and their Śaktis (female principles) set forth in some of the cave paintings, the Tankhas or Tibetan banners as they are called, statues and statuettes in stone and bronze, and also the miniatures in old Buddhist MSS. The first Bodhisattva, Manjuśrī, may have originally been a prince of Khotan or a saint from Nepal, but the god as he is known to the Mahayanists is merely 'an aspect of the absolute seen through the glass of time.' He carries a book and wields the sword of wisdom or knowledge, and out of a blue lotus was he born, all covered with ornaments, even like Minerva in panoply. It is interesting to recall that the Tibetan saint Son-kha-pa or the man from the Son-kha valley, whom we find portrayed in some of the Tankhas or banners, was another historical personage who bore the Sanskrit name of Arya Mahāratnasumatikīrti. He was the founder of the sect of yellow-cap lamas and later came to be regarded as an incarnation of Manjuśrī. It was only in the 7th century A.D. that Śāntiddeva who has been aptly described as *Thomas à Kempis* of Buddhism, attained according to lama Tārānāth, a full-fledged Bodhisattva-hood. The Buddha-hood is attained by becoming a Bodhisattva.

The popular mind did not enter into the philosophical intricacies of Buddhist thought Whether the Void (Śunyatā) in Mahāyāna Buddhism implied a theory of the nature of ultimate reality or a transcendental state beyond existence and non-existence, it was not for the masses to enquire. With what ecstasy and passion even aniconic symbols, like foot-prints, were worshipped, is well depicted in one of the Amarāvatī sculptures of the 2nd century A.D. Feeling like this, demanded an object of worship more personal and accessible.

The development of Mahāyāna, as has been aptly said, was 'the overflowing of Buddhism from the limits of the order into the life of the World.' Even though the Buddha had said, "Be lamps unto yourselves," this outflow of devotion was a development, natural in a country where *Bhakti* to a personal god like Kṛishṇa or Śiva had attained such proportions. Avalokiteśvara has some of the features of Maheśvara (Śiva), the third of the Hindu triad, and some of the popular deities of the Mahāyāna cult, to wit Lokanātha and Manjuśrī, the latter well-known to the Hindu Tantras under the name of Mañjughosha, assumed certain characteristics of the Hindu gods and became their rivals. Kurukullā came to be regarded as a variant of Kālī and Tārā though in a form different from that ordinarily known in Northern Buddhism, found a place among Hindu goddesses of Śakti cult and became one of the ten Mahāvidyās. The transference of worship from the Hindu to the Buddhist Mahāyāna deities was, in fact, easy and natural. The followers of the creed, the good law or Sad-dharma as it was called, were surrounded by an atmosphere of devotional enthusiasm among the followers of the older faith for their personal gods and goddesses, and it was not necessary to premise, as Dr. E. J. Thomas has rightly observed, that the Buddhists were not devotional till an alleged Mazdian influence had penetrated into India. Even among the followers of Hīnayāna, the worship in *pagodas*, as we might see even to the present day, shows an intensity of devotion, hardly surpassed in other forms of faith.

The Buddhist deities were conceived of as mighty and beneficent rivalling the gods of Hindu pantheon, and in some of the iconographical examples still extant, we find them riding on Hindu gods or trampling over them in triumph. Mahāyāna made a great headway under Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva. It was in the 6th century A.D. when Asaṅga is believed to have gone up to heaven to bring down the Tantras that the Tantric element supervened. It is a moot point whether Hinduism derived its Tantric element from Mahāyāna or the cult developed *pari passu* in both the creeds. The Hindu tradition is that the sage Vasishṭha went up to Mahā-Chīna (Great China), and introduced *chīnāchāra*, the Chinese system of rituals, on return. The goddess Tārā borrowed from Mahāyāna, is called the Mahāchīna Tārā. It has been inferred from this, and one would say not quite rashly, that the Mongolian or Tibetan element in Tantric rituals were introduced into India by some Indian reformer. There is historic evidence

to show that between the 8th and 10th centuries of the Christian era, there was migration of Indian Pandits to the Land of Snow (Tibet), and the process was much hastened later on by the attack of Muslim invaders in the last quarter of 12th century (1197 A.D.) and the destruction of the Buddhist universities of Vikramaśīla, Nālandā, and Jagaddal which it involved. For two or three centuries preceding the arrival of the invading hordes, there had been very fruitful development in art under the aegis of Mahāyāna. I would, as example, cite a seated Tārā, painted in miniature, in a palm-leaf MS. ($2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$) of the 9th century A.D. (Gangoly Collection). The marvellous quality of the line and the dexterity of brush-work it displays certainly deserves the encomium bestowed in a Tibetan Buddhist MS. that the Bengal paintings of Buddhist gods are the best. Another beautiful Mahāyānist miniature of a later date (10th century) also comes to mind in this connection. It occurs in a palm leaf MS. of the Prajñā-pāramitā, which bears a date corresponding to 978 A.D. It is stated that this school of painting, believed to be an offshoot of Ajantā style, existed in Bengal up to the 13th century, although Mahāyāna Buddhism which began to lose ground from the 8th century, practically disappeared from India from the 12th century A.D.

If there had been any previous borrowing of Tantra creed and rituals, it was repaid with full interest by this grafting on of artistic and religious traditions from India in the culture-areas of Mahāchīna. In 720 A.D., an Indian monk named Vajrabodhi, accompanied by his disciple Amogha-vajra, introduced the Yoga system into China. After the death of the master, the disciple continued to propagate the doctrine, with the help of a Chinese scholar, Hui-Kuo, and it gradually spread to all parts of China.

The principle of duality stressed in the Sāṅkhya school of philosophy, in respect of Purusha and Prakṛiti, the former conceived of as male and inert, and the latter as female and active, gave rise however to a phase of development which called for the conception of Śaktis or female principles of Dhyānī Buddhas and Bōdhisattvas. It is to Bodhisattva Maitreya that the grafting of Tāntric cult and Yogāchāra in Mahāyāna school is traditionally attributed. The duality became accentuated in course of time, and Bodhichitta, the mind striving for Bodhi and which can merge in Śunya (Void), came to be contemplated as in the arms of Nairātma-devī, a form of Void. It is the Śunyatā, the doctrine of Void, that is regarded as the

differentia that marks off Buddhism from Brāhmanism. Śunya-vād or the doctrine of Void, is the guise under which Buddhism lingers in Bengal and Orissa.[1]

The Buddha came to be conceived of as in union with Prajñā (wisdom-divine), and even Karuṇā or compassion of Avalokiteśvara, the Compassionate One, was personified as female principle or Śakti and gave rise to gross conceptions. It is true that in India even mundane love has a deep and spiritual significance, but with the impure and the uninitiated, doctrines involving such symbolism were liable very rapidly to degenerate. That a degraded form of Buddhism found its way to Pagan in Upper Burma from India, is a fact, but it was fortunately nipped in the bud in the 11th century by King Anawrahta (Aniruddha) who was a protagonist of the purer form of the faith.

The extirpation of the Tāntric forms of cult both in India and Burma was indeed a gain to Mahāyāna Buddhism as Tāntricism served to warp, obscure, and vitiate, the original ideology associated with the Adi Buddha, the Self-existent or the Svayambhū, who is said to have become manifest from the mystic syllable "Om," and issued out of a lotus in the form of a flame. From him was evolved by five kinds of meditations and the five kinds of wisdom, the five Dhyānī-Buddhas or Celestial Jinas. The sixth Dhyānī-Buddha, Vajra-Sattva, was undoubtedly a later addition. The five Dhyānī Buddhas have been taken to stand for the eternity of the five senses. They may also have originated from the theory of the eternity of the five elements or five 'skandas,' the constituents of a being fused together by action and supposed to be the embodiments thereof. The third theory is that they took their rise from five sacred 'mudrās' (gestures made sacred by Buddha), the 'mudrās' represented being, teaching in Vairochana, gift-bestowing in Akshobhya, meditation in Ratna-sambhava, reassurance in Amitābha, and the earth-touching in Amogha-siddhi. The respective 'vāhanas' (vehicles) of the five Dhyānī Buddhas named are peacocks, elephants, dragons, garuḍas, and lions. Vajra-sattva is the priest of the Dhyānī Buddhas, and his function is symbolised by the bell which he carries along with a Vajra or thunderbolt. Amogha-siddhi is also suspected to be a

[1] In an Oriya MS. of Rādhāmrita Gitā in the writer's possession, Śunya-vād is distinctly brought out under a thin veneer of the Rādhā-Krishna cult of Vaishnavism.

later addition, and whereas the Hindu god Vishṇu has only one garuḍa to ride on, he has a couple of them evidently to show his superiority. He is found in the gesture of reassurance, and a seven-headed serpent which is reminiscent of Nāga Muchalinda, is sometimes represented as shading his head.

The colour of the five Dhyānī Buddhas are respectively red, blue, white, green, and yellow, Amitābha being usually red, Akshobhya, blue, Vairochana white, Amogha-siddhi green, and Ratna-sambhava yellow. These colours imply psychical moods, and are liable to occasional variations, and this in spite of the fact that the mode of painting these gods had become fixed or stylised. Amitābha has his variant in Amitāyus, to whom he so closely approximates. The Lord of Infinite Light is also the Lord of Infinite Life, but in Tibetan iconography Amitābha and Amitāyus are held separate. Amitābha has been supposed to be of Persian origin, but there seems to be no clear and certain indication of such borrowing. Ratna-sambhava, with whom this god was provisionally identified, is rarely met with, and his colour is also different. On the ground of colour, I was inclined to take a figure depicted on a banner (Tankha) in the Gangoly collection as Akshobhya There are, however, certain iconographical details, to wit, the absence of earth-touching gesture and the attitude of benediction which along with the golden fruits, or it may be yellow Āmalakas, so clearly limned, made me agree unhesitatingly with Prof. G. H. Luce of Rangoon that the central figure painted in this banner is Bhāisajya Guru, the Aesculapius among the Buddhist gods who is popularly known by the name of Healing Buddha. It was to this god who was not unknown in Further India, that Jayavarman VII (1181-1201), a King of Cambodia of the Buddhist persuasion, honoured by the surname of Mahāparamasaugata, dedicated the large number of hospitals built by him for the free treatment of his subjects. The cult of Akshobhya spread in the 3rd century and is set out in the Prajñā-pāramitā Sūtra. The gods Manjuśrī and Yamāntaka, and goddesses Tārā and Prajñā-pāramitā, bear, 'as of their spiritual father,' the effigy of Akshobhya on their heads. The last mentioned deity is regarded as a Śakti of Ādi Buddha Vajradhara who is taken by certain Lamaic sects as identical with Vajrasattva.

The Dhyānī Buddhas are represented on the four sides of the 'stūpas' which symbolise the Buddhist universe, and are found facing

the four cardinal points. Ādi Buddha is the Dharma-kāya, and the Dhyānī Buddhas who are of the Sambhoga-kāya are concerned with the creation of the world through the Dhyānī Bodhisattvas representing the Nirmāṇa-kāya. A divine Bodhisattva has to work as the *locum tenens* of a mortal Buddha during the disappearance of one mortal Buddha and the coming in of the next. Padmapāṇi Bodhisattva is believed to be doing the duty of a mortal Buddha during the present cycle known as Bhadrakalpa. The Padmapāṇi Bodhisattva is distinguished from Avalokiteśvara who also carries a sprig of lotus, by representation of Amitābha which the latter carries on his head. The Bodhisattvas were originally the idealisation of different virtues and as has been already mentioned, they were taken to be identical and co-extensive with the Saṅghas. There are six of them commencing from Sāmantabhadra—Padmapāṇi, the lotus-bearer, being the fourth in the list. There are three different examples of Avalokiteśvara in the Gangoly Collection, of which one set out in a Tankha (banner) deserves special notice. The symbolical conception of a thousand-headed being (Sahasraśīrsha purusha) immanent in Nature, is as old as the Vedas. I am inclined to take this particular representation as Avalokiteśvara with a thousand heads, the heads other than the normal being very small and conventional, and extremely stylised. The last of the series is an eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara which is said to have originated in Bengal, and thence adopted by the Tibetans. The topmost head is taken to be that of Amitābha. Five-headed figures resembling the well-known form of Śiva-Maheśvara are also common. Avalokiteśvara is known in Burma by the name of Lokanātha. Under this name the god was worshipped in former days in many parts of Rāḍh tract in Bengal. As many as 108 varieties of this god have come to be known. A *bifrons* image with Janus-like heads, the provenance of which was the Rāḍh tract of the Murshidabad District in Bengal, is now in the Museum of the Sāhitya Parishad in Calcutta—and has been identified as a form of this god. If the identification is correct, this would be an almost unique specimen. Avalokiteśvara is believed to take 'the form of all the gods of all the religions, and also of father and mother.' As all living beings would reach salvation through his influence, he is looked upon as the light of the Buddhist church. He is believed to have created this actual universe and is thus our creator, and as he has manifested himself as many as 333 times for saving mankind

he is also the Lord of Infinite Mercy (karuṇā). Those who recite the spell of "*Mani Padme Hum*," the *shaḍakshari mantra* which the Tibetans inscribe inside their prayer wheels, escape transmigration, and can live in one of the many worlds which find place in Lokanātha's hair-pores. The figure of Avalokiteśvara used to be placed on the hill tops and the name is thus taken to mean "He who looks on from high." The spread of his worship took place in India from the 3rd to the 7th century A.D., and towards the close of the period, penetrated into Tibet. Reference to Avalokiteśvara worship is made both by Fa Hien and Hieuen Thsang, the god being known as *Kwanin* in China and *Kwanon* in Japan. Lokanātha has been mentioned in some of the old Burmese MSS. and in some old Mon inscriptions published by Prof. Luce. The cult seems to have migrated to Hmawza and Pagan where a bronze stele bearing a representation of the god and also some cult-images have been found, the technique possibly originating from Samataṭa and Harikel, the eastern parts of old Bengal. Of all the Mahāyāna gods, Maitreya, who is mentioned along with Lokanātha in old inscriptions, is most well-known in the Burmese country. His special emblem is the vase of ambrosia from which in some instances a sprouting *aśoka* branch is represented as coming out. Maitreya is conceived as residing in Tushita heaven prior to his descent on earth. His symbol is the *nāgakeśara*, a white flower with a yellow centre. He is the Buddhist Messiah, and will descend to earth 4500 years after the death of Gautama. Maitreya the Compassionate, Ari Mettaya as he is called in Burma, is the only Bodhisattva known to Hīnayāna and his statues along with those of Gautama Buddha, are found not only in Burma but also in Ceylon and Siam.

Of the goddesses of Mahāyāna, the most well-known are Tārā and Prajñāpāramitā. Images of Tārā are to be found in Upper Burma, at Pagan, where her worship was once prevalent. The Tārā cult was introduced into Java by the Śailendra kings and the famous fane of Chandi Kalasan still bears witness to this fact. Tārā has three forms or aspects, Sita or White Tārā, a form which is most common, Śyāmā or Green Tārā and Pīta or Yellow Tārā who also goes by the name of Bhrikuṭi. The last mentioned is an 'Ugra' or angry form, and it is this 'ugra' rather than the peaceful aspect which generally predominates in Mahāyāna worship. It may be mentioned in passing that in Tibet Mahāyāna creed coalesced with local Bonpo

demonolatry, and this is why Tibetan deities are generally represented in icons as fierce and awe-inspiring. I remember to have seen a Hevajra image in *Yab-yum* (*membra conjuncta in coitu*) with his Sakti or female aspect, which really inspired terror, whereas an example of the same image from Bengal had an expression so sweet and peaceful that it reminded one of a beneficent Hindu deity whose worship is widely prevalent in the Province. Thus even in regard to prescribed and well-formulated conventional forms, regional and national influences seem to have proved paramount. Tārā is said to have been born from a blue ray from the eye of Amitabha, her spiritual originator, whose effigy she always bears on her crown or headdress. It is also said that she was born out of a lotus which grew in a lake formed out of the fallen tears of Avalokiteśvara, the Lord of Infinite Pity, the White Tārā from a tear drop of his right eye, and the Green Tārā from that of the left eye. Śyāmā Tārā is generally represented alone. The one in the Gangoly Collection represents, however, Tārā the Interlocutrice, the goddess being depicted in this example of Pāla art, as in a gesture of exposition, her audience consisting of two women in an attitude of reverent attention. The yellow Tārā, the Tāntric form of the goddess, is depicted in a painting in the Gangoly Collection as seated in a mystic circle with ten attendant goddesses. While yellow in this case implies an angry mood, it is also the colour expressive of love or amour. Tārā is also found associated with Lokanātha as an attendant goddess, the other attendant being Hayagrīva, a god not unknown to Hindu iconography. A hymn to Hayagrīva is often read before commencing perusal of Bhagavad Gītā. I have traversed already all the principal iconographical examples set out in the Gangoly Collection. About their artistic values all competent critics have spoken enthusiastically. During the Gupta period, Buddhist art became truly national and rose to classic height by its perfection of technique and dept hof inspiration. If the Art of Ajantā smacks a little of the flesh, it is not wanting in what is spiritual. The Ajantā art-traditions, transformed through the efflorescence of the Pāla art of Magadha, were carried to Tibet *via* Nepal in a much adulterated form, but in Tibetan paintings the Chinese method of technique and the influx of Chinese motifs in the treatment of clouds, trees, plants and drapery, are so apparent as to be manifest even to the ordinary layman. There is always a 'give and take' in the realms of Art, and if the Chinese

imparted some of their technique to the Tibetan and Nepalese schools of Buddhist art, the fact that as late as the 16th century, the services of a Nepalese artist were requisitioned by one of the Chinese emperors, would seem to show that the living and traditional art of which India was the exponent even at that late period, was not considered as unworthy or inadequate in the Far East. Even the degenerate Vajrayāna did not fail to make its quota of art contribution.

Art is one of the most effective spiritual and social solvents which acts on divergent creeds and communities, smoothening their relations and bringing together different social groups. It has been very properly defined as the *lingua franca* of spiritual culture. Art and religious symbols have become so closely commingled in our cultural heritage, that religion has very properly and significantly been described 'as the minor premise of art.' We have still to remember that in India 'hieratic art alone responds to democracy.' The symbolism of a living tradition, be it Hindu or Buddhist, can never be dead or discarded, for it 'recalls to us without cease what is incomplete or subjective in our perception.' For us in the East, there is only 'one true and veritable path in art,' *viz.*, that of 'pure and rigorous convention,' of which, to quote further from M. Lionel de Fonseka, religion is 'the straight and narrow portal.'

QURRATU'L-'AYN—A BĀBĪ MARTYR

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THE early part of the reign of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh witnessed the birth of a new religion, *viz.*, Bābī religion. The adherents of the new faith gradually increased in number. Some of the Bābīs being suspected of an attempt upon the life of the Shāh, the Bābīs were subjected to terrible persecution and the horrors which were committed upon them beggar description. But by the fortitude and calmness with which they faced the persecutions inflicted on them, they won the sympathy and admiration of the feeling hearts. Qurratu'l-'Ayn suffered in common with them and was executed. In this article I propose to deal with her life and the poems commonly attributed to her.

The real name of Qurratu'l-'Ayn is Umm-i Salmá.[1] She was the only daughter of Ḥājj Mullā Ṣāliḥ, the erudite doctor known as the sage of Qazvīn. She was born in 1230-31 A.H./1814-15 A.D. and was married to her uncle's son Mullā Muḥamad.[2] She had three children, two sons and one daughter.

She was an educated lady well-versed in Arabic, science of the traditions and exegesis of the Qur'ān. She was endowed with brilliant eloquence and it is said that she used to give learned discourses on theology in public without a veil. Browne says that he asked Ṣubḥ-i Azal ("The Morning of Eternity") whether it was true that Qurratu'l-'Ayn discarded the veil. His reply was, "It is not true that she laid aside the veil. Sometimes, when carried away by her eloquence, she would allow it to slip down off her face, but she would always replace it after a few moments."[3] At first she was a

[1] According to Maḥmūd Effendī Ālūsī her real name is Hind and Umm-i Salmá is her kuniyya (see Kawākibu'd-Durriyya, pp. 63-64 by 'Abdu'l- Ḥusayn Āvāra). She is also known by the name Zarrīn Tāj,

[2] The following genealogical table will clearly explain her family relationships :—

Muḥammad al-Burghānī al-Qazvīnī.

Ḥājj Mullā Muḥammad Taqī	Ḥajj Mullā Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ	Ḥājj Shaykh Jawwād.	Ḥājj Mullā 'Alī

Mullā Muḥammad = Qurratu'l-'Ayn.

[3] Browne, A Traveller's Narrative, p. 314.

follower of the doctrines of Sayyid Kāẓim 'Alī Rashtī,[1] the spiritual director of the Bāb. She was in correspondence with him about the intricacies of his doctrines. The Sayyid recognized her ability and in his letters used to address her as Qurratu'l-'Ayn (Coolness of the Eye) by which appellation she is best known. On the death of Sayyid Kāẓim 'Alī Rashtī, she embraced the new doctrines of Mīrzā 'Alī Muḥammad, the Bāb.[2] By her eloquent preachings, she made many converts to the new faith.

She visited Karbalā during the lifetime of Sayyid Kāẓim 'Alī Rashtī. There she became acquainted not only with the Sayyid but also with his chief followers including Mullā Ḥusayn of Bushrūyih the first apostle of the Bāb. When Mullā Ḥusayn set out for Shīraz after the death of Sayyid Kāẓim, she wrote to him begging that if he would succeed in finding the spiritual guide, he should at once inform her. After conversion to the faith of the Bāb, Mullā Ḥusayn made over her letter to the Bāb who recognized the rare qualities of the writer whom he included among the eighteen "Letters of the Living" (Ḥurūfāt-i Ḥayy)[3] who formed the "First Unity" of the Bābī hierarchy.

Qurratu'l-'Ayn remained for some time in Karbalā where from behind a curtain she used to preach to the followers of the late Sayyid Kāẓim 'Alī Rashtī. The Governor sought to arrest her. So she hastily left Karbalā and went to Bagdad where she defended, with great ability, her creed before the chief Muftī. The question whether she should be allowed to preach her faith was submitted first to the Pāshā of Bagdad and then to the Central Government of Turkey, with the result that she was ordered to leave the territory of Turkey. On her return journey from Bagdad to Kirmānshāh and Hamadān she continued preaching and made some converts. Some Bābīs did not like that a woman should publicly preach to men and referred the matter to the Bāb who not only sanctioned her preaching but gave her the title of Janāb-i Ṭāhira ("Her Excellency the Pure") which assured her high position in the Bābī church.

[1] b. 1205 A.H./1790 A.D.; d. 1251 or 1259 A.H./1835 or 1843 A.D.

[2] Born at Shīraz in 1820; proclaimed himself the Bāb (the Gate), 23rd May, 1844; executed in Tabrīz, July, 1850.

[3] Eighteen of the earliest chosen disciples of the Bāb. The Bāb described them as 'Eighteen Letters of the Living' and himself as The Point. These eighteen chosen disciples were specially trained how to instruct others and prepare the way for receiving one who was about to appear.

From Hamadān Qurratu'l-'Ayn wanted to go to Tehran. It is said that she hoped to be able to convert Muḥammad Shāh himself to her new faith. Her father became aware of her object and sent servants to intercept her and bring her home to Qazvīn. Her marriage with her cousin probably took place after her return to Qazvīn, though the exact date of the event is not known. The marriage was a most unhappy one because her husband had, like his father, a bitter hatred of the Shaykhīs and the Bābīs and finally Qurratu'l-'Ayn refused to live with her husband. Her position became perilous in the highest degree when her uncle and father-in-law was killed by certain Bābīs. It was hinted by some that she was privy to the assassination. Her husband charged her before the Governor of Qazvīn for complicity in the murder of his father, but she was acquitted.

Though acquitted, it became impossible for her to live at Qazvīn. So she set out by way of Tehran for Khurāsān. She was present at the celebrated meeting of the Bābī chiefs at Badasht from where she turned towards Māzandarān with Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī of Bārfurūsh and his party. We know nothing as to what happened to Qurratu'l-'Ayn since she separated from Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī and his followers, till she was brought a captive to Tehran.

In 1852 A.D., one day Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh was passing through Tehran on horse-back when four Bābī rebels shot at him. One of them killed himself on the spot and another threw himself into a well and the remaining two were taken prisoners by the attendants of the Shāh. An enquiry was set on foot and a Bābī conspiracy was disclosed. Qurratu'l-'Ayn was given up to the Government authorities and sent to Tehran where she was placed in custody in the garden of Maḥmūd Khān, the Kalāntar, in a house without stairs. There she remained a prisoner till her death. There is nothing to show the complicity of Qurratu'l-'Ayn in the conspiracy nor do we know the circumstances under which she was made over to the authorities. It is said that on the occasion of the marriage of Maḥmūd Khan's son, she was taken to his house where the wives of the city magnates were present. She, by her speech, made a good impression on the ladies, none of whom, however, ventured to say anything in her favour. It is said that the king wrote to her saying that if she would cease to be a Bābī, the king would take her into his harem. She is

said to have written the following verses in reply on the back of the letter:

تو و ملک و جاه سکندري، من و رسم و راه قلندري
اگر آن خوش است تو در خوري، و گر اين بدست مرا سزا

Sikandar's[1] pomp and display be thine,
the Qalandar's[2] habit and way be mine;
That, if it please thee, I resign,
while this, though bad, is enough for me.

Her gaoler was completely under the influence of her eloquence and requested her to abjure her faith, hoping to secure her release. But she refused. At last, by the order of the authorities, she met a cruel and lingering death,[3] with calmness and fortitude, which excited the admiration of Dr. Polak who witnessed her death.[4]

Though Qurratu'l-'Ayn has considerable fame as a poetess, the authorship of the poems generally attributed to her has been doubted.[5]

The following ghazal in the Kāmil metre is commonly ascribed to her:

لَمَعَاتُ وَجْهِكَ أَشْرَقَتْ و شعاعُ طَلْعَتِكَ اعْتَلَى

ز چه رو اَلَسْتُ بِرَبِّكُمْ نزنی بزن که بلی بلی

بجوابِ طبلِ اَلَسْتِ تو ز ولا چه کوسِ بلای زدند

همه خیمه زد بدرِ دلم سپهِ غم و حشمِ بلا

من و عشقِ آن مهِ خوبرو که چو شد صلای بلا برو

بنشاط و قهقهه شد فرو که اَنَا الشَّهِيْدُ بکربلا

[1] Alexander the Great. [2] A kind of religious mendicant.

[3] The accounts of her death are quite conflicting and it is difficult to say which version is correct. Gobineau says that she was burned after the executioner had first strangled her. According to one version she was cast into a dry well in the garden of the palace called Nigāristān and the well was then filled up with stones. Anyhow, the fact remains that a cruel death was inflicted on her. She suffered martyrdom on the 17th August, 1852 A.D.

[4] Polak, Persien, i, 333.

[5] 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Āvāra, Kawākibu'd-Durriyya, p. 309 (Cairo, 1923); also Kashfu'l-Ḥiyal, ii, 46.

چو شنید نالهٔ مرگِ من پی سازِ من شد و برگِ من
فَمَشی اِلَیَّ مُهَـرْوِلًا وَ بَکٰی عَلَیَّ مُجَلْجِلا
چه شود که آتشِ حیرتی زنیم بقلّهٔ طور دل .
فَسَکَکْتَهُ وَ دَکَکْتَهُ مُتَدَکْدِکًا مُتَـزَلْـزِلا
پَیِ خوانِ دعوتِ عشقِ او همه شب ز خیل کروبیان
رسد این صفیرِ مهیمنی که گروه غمزده الصّلا
تو چه فِلْسِ ماهیِ حیرتی که زنی ببحرِ وجود دم
بنشین چو طاهرهٔ دم بدم بشنو خروشِ نهنگِ لا[1]

The effulgence of thy face flashed forth and the rays of thy visage arose on high ;
Then speak the word, "*Am I not your Lord* ?" and "*Thou art, Thou art,*" we will all reply.
Thy trumpet-call "*Am I not* ?" to greet how loud the drums of affliction beat !
At the gates of my heart there tramp the feet and camp the hosts of calamity.
That fair moon's love is enough, I trow, for me, for he laughed at the hail of woe,
And triumphant cried, as he sunk below, "The Martyr of Karbala am I."
When he heard my death-dirge drear, for me he prepared, and arranged my gear for me ;
He advanced to mourn at my bier for me, and o'er me wept right bitterly.
What harm if thou with the fire of amaze should'st set my Sinai-heart ablaze,
Which thou first mad'st fast in a hundred ways but to shake and shatter so ruthlessly ?
To convene the guests to his feast of love all night from the angel host above,

[1] In Tuḥfa-i Ṭāhira (see *infra*) this ghazal forms the ending part of a bigger poem comprising twenty-one distichs, of which the *maṭla'* runs thus :
هله ای گروهٔ عمائیـان بکشید هلهلهٔ ولا * که ظهور دلبر ما عیان شدهٔ فاش و ظاهر و برملا
(see p. 11).

Peals forth this summons ineffable, "Hail, sorrow-stricken fraternity!"
Can a scale of the fish of amaze like thee aspire to enquire of Being's Sea?
Sit mute like Ṭāhira, hearkening to the whale of "No" and its ceaseless sigh.[1]

But Āyatī (formerly surnamed Āvāra) is definitely of opinion that this poem is the composition of an earlier poet Muḥammad Bāqir Ṣuḥbat of Lār, in whose dīvān the whole poem with certain variants occurs with the pen-name "Ṣuḥbat" in the second hemistich of the last couplet.[2]

The following ghazal, also in Kāmil metre, is said to be from her pen :

جَذَبَاتُ شَوْقِكَ اَلْجَمَتْ بِسَلَاسِلِ الْغَمِّ وَ الْبَلَا

همه عاشقان شکسته دل که دهند جان بر وَلا

اگر آن صنم ز سر ستم پی کشتن من بیگنه

لَقَدِ اسْتَقَامَ بِسَيْفِهِ فَلَقَدْ رَضِيْتُ بِمَا رَضَا

سحر آن نگار ستمگرم قدمی نهاد ببستـرم

وَ إِذَا رَأَيْتَ جَمَالَهُ طَلَعَ الصَّبَاحُ كَأَنَّمَا

نه چو زلف غالیه بار او نه چو چشم فتنه شعار او

شده نافهٔ بهمه ختن شده کافری بهمه خطا[3]

توکه غافل از مَی و شاهدی پی مردِ عابدِ زاهدی

چه کنم که کافرِ جاحدی ز خلوص نیّتِ اصفیا

بمرادِ زلف معلّقی پیِ اسپ و زین معرّقی

همه عمر منکرِ مطلقی ز فقیر فارغ و بی نوا

[1] Browne, Materials for the Study of the Bābī Religion, pp. 350-51 (Cambridge, 1918).
[2] See Dīvān-i-Ṣuḥbat-i-Lārī, p. 130 (Tehran, 1317 A.H. solar).
[3] A clear mistake for ختا.

تو و ملک و جاہ سکندری من و رسم و راہ قلندری
اگر آن خوش است تو در خوری و گر این بد است مرا سزا
بگذر ز منزل ما و من بگزین بملک فنا وطن
فَاِذَا فَعَلْتَ بِمِثْلِ ذَا فَلَقَدْ بَلَغْتَ بِمَا تَشَا

The thralls of yearning love constrain in the bonds of pain and calamity
These broken-hearted lovers of thine to yield their lives in their zeal for thee.
Though with sword in hand my Darling stand with intent to slay, though I sinless be,
If it pleases him, this tyrant's whim, I am well content with his tyranny.
As in sleep I lay at the break of day that cruel charmer came to me,
And in the grace of his form and face the dawn of the morn I seemed to see.
The musk of Cathay might perfume gain from the scent those fragrant tresses rain,
While his eyes demolish a faith in vain attacked by the pagans of Tartary.
With you, who contemn both love and wine for the hermit's cell and the zealot's shrine,
What can I do, for our Faith divine you hold as a thing of infamy ?
The tangled curls of thy darling's hair, and thy saddle and steed are thy only care ;
In thy heart the Absolute hath no share, nor the thought of the poor man's poverty.
Sikandar's pomp and display be thine, the *Qalandar's* habit and way be mine ;
That, if it please thee, I resign, while this, though bad, is enough for me.
Pass from the station of "I" and "We", and choose for thy home Nonentity,
For when thou hast done the like of this, thou shalt reach the supreme Felicity.[1]

[1] Browne, Materials for the Study of the Bābī Religion, pp. 348-49, (Cambridge, 1918).

Browne also cites a masnavī poem of the kind known as *Sāqī-nāma* and is inclined to believe, for reasons not quite convincing, to be her composition.[1]

The following ghazal is also ascribed to Qurratu'l-'Ayn. Āyatī[2] in his Kawākibu'd-Durriyya attributes the poem to her.[3] But afterwards he changed his opinion.[4] During my second sojourn at Tehran in 1934 on the occasion of the Firdausī millenary celebrations, I had the honour of being acquainted with Āyatī and had the pleasure of talking with him on various topics of Persian poetry. At that time, Āyatī gave out as his decided opinion that this poem was not the composition of Qurratu'l-'Ayn, but of Mullā 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb of Qazvīn, poetically surnamed Ḥazīn. He said that the last distich which contained the pen-name "Ḥazīn" was interchanged with an intermediate distich in the poem with the insertion of the surname 'Ṭāhira' in it. The explanation is rather ingenious, but the opinion is dogmatic and does not carry conviction.

گر بتو افتدم نظر چهره بچهره رو برو
شرح دهم غم ترا نکته بنکته مو بمو

از پی دیدن رخت همچو صبا فتاده ام
خانه بخانه در بدر کوچه بکوچه کو بکو

دور دهان تنگِ تو عارضِ عنبرین خطت
غنچه بغنچه گل بگل لاله بلاله بو ببو

میرود از فراقِ تو خونِ دل از دو دیده ام
دجله بدجله یم بیم چشمه بچشمه جو بجو

مهر ترا دلِ حزین بافته بر قماش جان[5]
رشته برشته نخ بنخ تار بتار پو بپو

در دلِ خویش طاهره گشت و ندید جز ترا
صفحه بصفحه لا بلا پرده بپرده تو بتو

[1] Browne, Materials for the Study of the Bābī Religion, pp. 343-47, (Cambridge, 1918).
[2] M. Ishaque, Sukhanvarān-i Irān dar 'Aṣr-i Ḥāẓir, ii, 8-14, (Delhi, 1937).
[3] See Kawākibu'd-Durriya, p. 308.
[4] Kashfu'l Ḥiyal, ii, 48 (foot-note).
[5] In Tuḥfa-i-Ṭāhira, there occurs before this verse the following extra distich (p. 4) :—
ابرو و چشم و خال تو صید نموده مرغ دل * طبع بطبع و دل بدل مهر بمهر و خو بخو

If I happen to see thee before me face to face, I shall tell thee of my pangs in minute details;

To see thy face, like unto Zephyr I passed from house to house, door to door, street to street, lane to lane;

The circuit of thy tiny mouth and thy cheeks with down of ambergris (are luxuriant) with buds, roses, tulips and fragrance;

On account of thy separation, my heart's blood flows forth from my eyes (like) many a Tigris, many a sea, many a brooklet, many a stream.

The dejected heart hath knit thy love on the web of life thread by thread, fibre by fibre, warp by warp, woof by woof;

Ṭāhira entered her heart and found nothing save thee (searching) page by page, fold by fold, screen by screen, layer by layer.

A booklet "Tuḥfa-i-Ṭāhira[1]" professing to contain the poems of Qurratu'l-'Ayn has been published by Isfandiyār Bakhtiyārī. It contains three other poems of which no mention has been made by Browne or Āyatī.

Thus we have only a few poems attributed to her. Of these poems at least one cannot be her composition, while the authorship of the rest is doubted. On what then, does the fame of Qurratu'l-'Ayn rest? Certainly not on poetic gifts of which we possess very little proof. The cause of her fame should be sought elsewhere. We learn from the works of different writers that she was a profound theologian and preacher of great eloquence. Her audiences were charmed by her eloquent discourses and heard her with rapt attention. To her deep knowledge of theology and her persuasive eloquence, we are inclined to think, her fame must be due.

Whether these poems are from the pen of Qurratu'l-'Ayn or not, they are characterized by unity of thought and uniformity of style. They are, as a rule, interspersed with bombastic and unfamiliar Arabic lines and phrases which, however, do not disturb the spontaneous flow. The graceful ease, magnificent diction and charming rhythm have rendered the poems musical and inspiring.

[1] Lithographed at Karachi on the 1st Nūr, 87 of the Bābī year 6th June, 1930.

INDIA AND THE U. S. A.

DR. NARESH CHANDRA ROY

FOR the first time in the history of their relations there was an exchange of Ministers last autumn between India and the U. S. A. This exchange was a recognition of mutual interests which have grown apace since the close of the last War. Commercial necessity had already dictated the setting up of an office of Indian Trade Commissioner, which was formally opened in New York on the 5th of July, 1938. One year later the second World War began its course and its exigencies demanded after some time the despatch of an Indian Purchasing Mission to the United States under the leadership of Sir Shanmukham Chetty. But the establishment of a Trade Commissioner's office and the despatch of missions with limited objectives were not enough for the relations between the two countries to be adequately dealt with. The exchange of envoys which took place for the first time in October, 1941, at last filled the void. It is true that the Government of India is still a subordinate authority working under the control and supervision of Whitehall and Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai is to play in many matters a second fiddle to the British Legation at Washington. But notwithstanding this drawback which need not be minimised, the posting of an Indian Minister on the Potomac and an American Minister on the Jumna may go a great way towards developing a more intimate and a more cordial understanding between the new country which has made such rapid strides in the technique of modern civilisation and the ancient country which is now rising fast above its pre-occupation with the past and adjusting itself to new conditions and environments.

It is unfortunate that when the exchange of Ministers had just taken place, a good section of the American press made the advent of the Cripps' mission and its later failure an occasion for preaching homilies to Indian leaders and even for misrepresenting Indian conditions and misreporting Indian views and aspirations. Such an attitude on the part of a large number of American newspapers could only be a handicap to the two Ministers in their work. Col. Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's Envoy at New Delhi, however, has succeeded by an open-hearted radio address on the 23rd April, in

eliminating much of the bitterness which had been created in the Indian mind by some of the observations of the Anglophile American press. This must be taken as an excellent beginning. If it is followed up in India and if Sir Girija Shankar can make right approach to the American people, the relations between the latter and ourselves will become more and more friendly and cordial.

It should be remembered in this connection that while a large section of the Indian people has taken for long an unflagging interest in America and its ideals and institutions, the same cannot be said of any large section of American people as to things Indian. The younger generation in this country happens no doubt as a rule to look to Moscow for all its inspiration. The land of Lenin and Stalin has become almost holy in its eyes and it sets, in its opinion, the example which the rest of the world should follow. But before the successful communist experiment in Russia could create this wave of enthusiasm in India, the United States was the land of dream to younger people in this country. It alone among the great countries of the world supplied instances of an astonishing elevation from Log Cabin to White House and as such it had an appeal to their imagination, which none could surpass. Individual liberty was still then a basic concomitant of democracy and no country emphasised it more than the United States of America. There is no wonder then that our people, ruled and repressed by the bureaucrats of the Heaven-Born Service, would look wistfully across the Pacific and take inspiration from the messages of Jefferson and the careers of Lincoln and Garfield.

Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea has left it on record how the makers of Italian unity were a great example to the people of India, then only beginning their struggle to be both united and free. None can deny that the messages of Mazzini, the action of Garibaldi, and the policy of Cavour had a tremendous impact upon the nationalist movement of India. It is also true that the nationalist movement of Ireland, both in its Home-Rule and in its Sinn Fein phases, was a great inspiration as well as an example to Indian nationalism. Until the middle twenties of this century books on no country were, in fact, more popular in the younger intellectual circles in India than those on Ireland. But while we must emphasise the contributions of liberal Italy and Home-Rule and Sinn Fein Ireland to the growth of nationalism and struggle for freedom in this country, we should not and must

not overlook the influences which travelled from the land of stars and stripes and worked upon us to an increasing degree.

The War of American Independence is too important an episode of history not to have its influences felt in different ages and climes. The Declaration of Independence is too important a document not to be an inspiration to political thinkers of more than one country. Every student of elementary history knows how they inspired and influenced the great Revolution in France. There are not, however, many who admit that they were an important factor of the growth of freedom movement in India. But that is a fact which should be recognised without demur. The messages and ideals of those sturdy Americans who fought for the independence of their country against British Imperialism reached the Indian intellectuals first *via* Edmund Burke, and later through the pages of the elder Trevelyan. In the early years of this century when our freedom movement grew all on a sudden to great proportions, George Washington was as great a hero to the younger people as Garibaldi and Shivaji. Direct contact between India and the United States of America did not of course come about very early. The first great Indian who visited the United Kingdom was Raja Ram Mohan Roy who died in that country in 1833. It was not till half a century had passed by since then that Swami Vivekananda went to the United States to attend the Parliament of Religions at Chicago (1893). But this visit, though so late, was pregnant with important consequences. The ovation that he received, the letters that he wrote home, the disciples that he made, all quickened among the Indians an enthusiastic interest in Uncle Sam.

This interest was further stimulated by the experiences of men and things in that great country, which a number of Indians came to gather in years which followed Swamiji's visit. These men went to the United States mostly as students. The tales of their struggle for life, of the sympathy which they received from their teachers, of the help which they got at the hands of generous private citizens and of the way they were treated as a rule in society, encouraged other men to follow in their footsteps. While, again, most of the Indians went to the United States with educational objective, there were some who were political exiles. The greatest and the most well-known among these latter was certainly the late Lala Lajpat Rai, who had to spend the years of the last War in that country. The assistance which these

men received in their work, and the sympathy which they succeeded in evoking for the cause which they cherished so much, went also a long way in bringing the Americans nearer the Indian heart.

Until the close of the last War, the enthusiasm of a large section of the Indian people for the United States of America was thus as great as it was real. That this enthusiasm was reciprocated by at least a small number of Americans is illustrated very fully by the career of Sister Nivedita (Miss Margaret Noble) and several other Americans. An abiding interest was in fact aroused in a small section of the American people in Indian culture and in Indian traditions. It is only unfortunate that the other sections of people in the United States had little intellectual interest in Indian civilisation and really no accurate knowledge of our past traditions. Nor were they very much curious about our present conditions and future aspirations. They were quite satisfied with the impression which they derived about this country from the antics of Indian Yogis and magicians who were given by interested people every facility to visit the States. It is equally unfortunate that nothing could be done by the leaders of the Indian people to counter this impression and stimulate American interest in healthier and more cultural aspects of our life. *

The years which followed the last World War were rather difficult and unpleasant so far as Indo-American relations were concerned. It need not be emphasised here that these were years of an intensified struggle for freedom in this country. As the fight for political independence thickened in India, the British Government saw to it that American interest was not favourably aroused in it on any large scale.† To this end they persuaded men who could tactfully 'educate' American opinion in the "right" way about Indian problems, either to go over to the States personally or to contribute articles and papers on India to influential American journals from outside. They also gave every facility to the "right" type of American visitors to India in collecting garbled accounts as to our ways of life. We may refer to the book which Professor Van Tyne wrote on India about four years after the close of the War. His British sympathies were well-known. It was, therefore, not unexpected that in *India in Ferment* he would not tell the American people anything very complimentary about the Indians.

* By saying this, I am not ignoring the services of the Ram Krishna Mission in the U. S. A.

† American interest in the Irish problem was a warning in this regard.

His successor in this work of defaming the Indian people was more notorious and more skilful as a propagandist. She was no other than the woman publicist, Miss Mayo, whose *Mother India* was described by Mahatma Gandhi as a drain inspector's report. Books like these could not have left any pleasant impression in Indian memory, either regarding their authors or regarding the country of which they were honoured citizens.

It should also be remembered that the American Immigration Law, which was passed in 1917, was so tightened in 1924 as to exclude drastically from citizenship all persons who were not of Caucasian origin. Whatever "Caucasian origin" might mean, it became an effective cover for the exclusion of all Asiatics. Not only, again, they were not to be admitted to American citizenship, but what was more, they would not even be admitted to the U. S. A. unless they could prove themselves to be *bona fide* visitors or students with sufficient bank-balance to support them in that country. It should also be remembered in this connection that the United States Supreme Court even decided, in Bhagat Singh Jhind case in 1924, that those Indians who had already been admitted to American citizenship and had enjoyed the privileges which it conferred for years, could not remain American citizens any longer. The wrong thus done to a number of Indian "Americans" was, however, later rectified. But otherwise the law continued to be inexorable, and all Asiatics including Indians were excluded from citizenship. The United States was thus declared a whiteman's country and the Indians with other Asiatics were branded with the stigma of inferiority. The Japanese savant, the late Dr. Nitobe, whose wife was an American woman, felt this slight so much that he told an American friend that inspite of all his love for the United States he would never again set his foot in that country. The feelings of many Indians were no less wounded and they became no less chagrined at the unwise step which the Americans had taken. The independent Asiatic countries complained through their Governments but the Government of India, being foreign in personnel, affiliation and responsibility, would do nothing of the kind. The feelings of the Indian people, though muffled, could not, however, be anything but bitter.

The colour prejudice has always been great in the United States. The presence of more than thirteen million Negroes, who had been kept in slavery till 1865, has been mainly responsible for this prejudice.

The Negroes, who were described only as 'darkies' were not at one time in certain circles even regarded as human beings. They were mere chattels to be used for furthering the whiteman's interests. A Civil War had to be fought between the North and the South before the 'darkies' were up from slavery. But even after freedom, many Americans have hesitated to regard them as human beings of the same category as themselves. The prejudice has, to the annoyance of all liberal-minded people, lingered to this day. When the Indians first visited the United States, they were treated, inspite of the pigmentation of their skin, without prejudice, which was then confined to the Negro community alone. But after the last War the situation changed to some extent. Indian visitors and students continued to be treated, as a rule, very courteously and even cordially. But here and there, particularly in the South, incidents happened which left behind an impression of bitterness. The present writer knows of one Indian lady who was forced at the dead of night to alight from the train and enter the jim-crow car (meant for the Negroes in the South). He also knows of one Indian gentleman who had to move from pillar to post in a Southern State to find accommodation in an hotel. What was equally silly and uncharitable was that he had to grow his hair long as no white barber would entertain him in his saloon. It must be said that incidents like these have not been many but few and far between though they are, they leave behind a wound which festers. Reference should also be made to the dreadful Ellis Island where on more than one occasion Indian visitors were taken. They had to put up there as best they could while awaiting permission for the privilege of entering the city of sky-scrappers. The memory of this island has haunted these unfortunate visitors ever afterwards.

It is the function of the Indian Minister at Washington not merely to have a talk now and then on Government business with the President at the White house or with the Secretary or Under-Secretary at the State Department but to come into direct and intimate contact with social, cultural and professional life of the United States and create by personal bearing and example a better undersanding among Americans of the Indian people and their traditions. The number of universities and colleges in the United States is a legion. They are important not merely as educational centres but also as creators of public opinion in that country. There are again the great bar associations which are interested not merely in questions of profse-

sional etiquette and in problems of law and justice but also in all the important questions which affect American society at any given time. It must be acknowledged that they help to a great extent in the formation of public opinion. There are also many kinds of other societies, associations and leagues, *e.g.*, Daughters of the American Revolution Society, which influence the growth of opinion to a great degree in the United States. It is the duty of the Indian Minister at Washington to keep in touch with at least several of such bodies and find it possible to address them on suitable occasions. It is also his duty to see that India is properly and adequately represented in all exhibitions and international gatherings.

It is more than unfortunate that India was not only inadequately but very humiliatingly represented in the great World Fair which was opened in New York in April, 1939 and attracted a large body of spectators from all over the world for months together. This was a great opportunity for India being represented on an apposite scale in its cultural, economic and political aspects. But this opportunity was most unreasonably missed. There was not a country in the world (except Germany which boycotted it for certain reasons), which had not built a roomy pavilion on the grounds of the Fair to bring home to the people of America and of the world important aspects of its life. The pavilion of the U. S. S. R. was certainly the biggest and the most attractive and there is no gainsaying the fact that this pavilion succeeded far more than anything else in sloughing off a good deal of the prejudice which the Americans and others had felt for the communistic experiment in that country. The British Dominions, like Canada, Australia and South Africa had also their own separate pavilions. But to our own indignation and shame and to the regret of many American and European well-wishers and friends, India was relegated along with the Crown Colonies to a corner in the British pavilion. People who visited the Fair had no opportunity of remembering that India was a unit by herself with great traditions of the past and with great prospects for the future. They only found that she was a mere adjunct of Britain and her history was a mere detail of the history of the British Empire. It is for the Indian Minister at Washington to see that India does not receive any such humiliating treatment in the feature.

But will Sir Girija Shankar rise to the occasion ? He had been Member in charge of Education in the Government of India and had

direct touch with several of our great educational institutions. His intellectual equipment is by no means very limited. His cultural outlook is certainly not very narrow. But he has one defect which offsets his qualities. This is the defect of his experience. He has been all his life an official, an official of the Service which at least in the present century has stunted all intellectual growth, undermined all elasticity in character and conduct, quenched all fire of patriotism and atrophied all independence in thought and approach. One will be a bold man to say that Sir Girija Sahnkar will rise above these limitations of his service and experience and serve India as usefully at Washington as we would like him to do. Even among the British ambassadors in the United States it has been found that the career diplomatists are, as a rule, quite efficient only in performing routine work and in discharging the ambassador's obligations in normal times. But in normal times only. In abnormal conditions they have not been equal to the task at all. Outside the limited sphere of diplomacy also they have not been in any way useful in fostering friendship between the two English-speaking peoples. If we are to name two persons who helped more than any body else in creating a pro-British enthusiasm in America, we must name the the two non-professional ambassadors, *e.g.*, the late Lord Bryce and the late Lord Lothian.

Personal charm, intellectual outlook, capacity to make friends, enthusiasm for Indian culture and Indian aspirations and sympathy for American institutions—these are the qualities which an Indian Minister must possess, if he is to succeed in his mission in the United States. The Indian Civil Service does not throw up such people. Sir Girija Shankar with his long years of official routine and with his British paraphernalia and equipage is not likely to convert his legation at Washington into a centre of Indo-American collaboration and friendship. His office is likely to be a mere replica of a Government of India office at New Delhi, at which possibly the Member in charge is an Indian but most of his superior staff are British and the atmosphere is British. In environments such as these even men like the Right Honourable Srinivasan Sastri and Dr. Hriday Nath Kunzru who are otherwise the men cut out for a position like this would not succeed. It is unfortunate that Indian opinion did not insist on the choice of a more suitable Indian as Minister at Washington and on the organisation of his office there on more nationalistic lines.

It is also time for people to think about establishing a society

for Indian cultural relations in at least two American centres, say New York and Chicago. The U. S. S. R. has such societies in many countries, Japan had them in the United States and possibly in other countries as well. England has a similar organisation now in Spain, had such bodies in the Balkans and in other regions. The purpose of such institutions is to rouse cultural enthusiasm among local people about the countries they represent. They maintain an well-equipped library and a trained staff. Any person who is curious may drop in. He is given necessary information on the point he is curious about. He is also introduced to books and magazines where he may get greater and fuller information. More-over, if he desires to visit the country, the society makes all arrangements for making the trip fruitful in every way. It gives him a list of persons and institutions he should visit and furnishes him with necessary introductions to this end. An Indian organisation at New York and another at Chicago will certainly help in evoking among American people a good deal of enthusiasm for India and things Indian. If the Goverment of India were national, it might have maintained such bureaux in the United States. In the present circumstances, they may possibly be set up only by some important cultural or political association through the munificence of a few wealthy magnates.

While writing about the steps which should be taken for fostering Indo-American understanding, I may possibly refer to one or two of the many such steps which have been taken for improving Anglo-American relations. Everybody knows that these relations were until recently not very good. The American War of Independence left its legacy of mutual hatred which died hard. The Anglo-American War of 1812 rather strengthened it further. The attitude which some British statesmen took up during the American Civil War and some incidents which took place at that time gave another lease of life to the old hatred between the two countries. When old memories gradually faded with the lapse of time, the Irish question intervened and it continued to be an impediment to good understanding between England and the U. S. A. A rough solution of this tangle in 1921 removed at last the obstacle to mutual understanding and friendship. Sedulous attempts were henceforward made for fostering Anglo-American amity. One of the methods adopted to this end consisted in the distribution of scholarships for young Englishmen to visit and study in the United States and for young Americans to

visit and study in the United Kingdom. The number of Rhodes scholars is a legion and those who have profited by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Trust are equally numerous. Americans reading at Oxford and Cambridge and making friends with young Britishers who may count later in the social and public life of their country tend to become Anglophile in their outlook and sympathies. Similarly Britishers studying at Harvard and Columbia make friends with American students with influential affiliations and come to appreciate American ways and methods.

Could not some Indian magnates create a Trust for sending out a number of Indian students to the Universities in America? Possibly the Indian Minister at Washington may also persuade some American millionaire to do something in this regard and help thereby in fostering more intimate relations between India and the U. S. A. Vincent Massey, who was for some years Canadian High Commissioner at London, has established a scholarship tenable at the University of Toronto for Indian students. This has opened the Dominion of Canada partly at least to India. The example he has set may be followed up. Professorships on Indian History and Civilisation may be established also in important seats of learning in the United States. As a rule, no courses are arranged in American Universities to-day on this subject. Some lectures are delivered on British Empire and of these three or four are devoted to India. No wonder then that most Americans have no knowledge of Indian history and Indian conditions and that as such they may be prone to believe anything which imperialist propagandists from England may tell them. If this is to be countered, knowledge has to be spread.

Harmsworth Professorship of American History at Oxford has helped a great deal in interpreting America to the English intellectuals. The professor is drawn for a period from some American University and after he has created some enthusiasm among British students for American history and institutions, he returns to his place in his own country. Successive holders of this chair have not only brought America closer to Britain but Britain closer to America. Morison's Oxford History of the United States made many Britishers American-minded and Nevins' "This is England today" has certainly made American understanding of War-time Britain more sympathetic. Apart from such professorships, there are arrangements for visiting professorships as well. They also help a good deal in developing

mutual understanding. We wish that the attention of our people was drawn increasingly to such a method of developing cultural fellowship. Col. Louis Johnson may devote some thought to this matter and possibly he may arrange, after the War, a system of exchanging professors between Indian and American Universities as also of teaching Indian history and culture in American seats of learning through Indian teachers and American history and institutions in Indian Universities through American teachers. This would go a great way in interpreting India to the Americans and *vice versa*.

An American journalist has in a recent book observed that "in the Orient, as in Europe, Uncle Sam has always been a Sir Galahad with the mentality of a horse dealer. The two have been so closely interwoven that often it was difficult to say where goodness ended and business began." The Indian people would not certainly mind the Americans doing some business in this country but they would not like it to be divorced from goodness. The discouragement of an Indian automobile factory, the rumours of an American factory in Sind and lastly the arrival of the American Technical Mission created in the Indian mind an impression about America, which was not very pleasant. It was really the impression of a horse dealer. This has been modified to our pleasure by the observations of both Dr. Henry Grady and Col. Johnson. Further steps taken by them will alone show if the people of the United States want business alone in post-War India or wants to be as good to us as we would like them to be.

News and Views

[A monthly record of News and Views relating to Cultural and Academic Institutions, Events and Movements in India and Abroad.]

All-India Federation of Educational Associations

The 18th All-India Educational Conference will be held at Madras during Christmas holidays in December, 1942 ; and in order that its work may not be delayed, the constitution provides that suggestions should be invited from constituent associations, individual members, members of the Federation Council, the Reception Committee as well as from educationists in general, on the following:

(*a*) Topics of discussion for General Sessions and Sectional Conferences.

(*b*) Subjects on which papers should be invited for General Sessions and Sectional Conferences together with names and addresses of educationists who specialise in those subjects.

(*c*) Resolutions for consideration at General Sessions, Sectional Conferences and Annual Council Meeting.

(*d*) Changes in the constitution of the Federation, if considered desirable.

The following Sectional Conferences have been decided upon:

(1) Childhood and Home Education; (2) Primary and Rural Education; (3) Secondary Education; (4) University Education; (5) Vocational Education; (6) Adult Education; (7) Health and Physical Education; (8) Moral and Religious Education; (9) Teachers' Training; (10) New Education including Research and Experiment ; (11) Examination; (12) Internationalism and Peace; and (13) Women's Education.

Mr. D. P. Khattry, B.A., L.T.,Hony. Secretary, Cawnpore, suggests that all correspondence in this regard may be made with him.

Oxford and China

With a view to promoting Sino-English understanding in the field of culture, the University of Oxford is arranging an interchange of scholars with the National University of China.

Prof. E. R. Hughes, who is organising Chinese studies in Oxford University, came to Santiniketan recently on his way to Chungking, where he is going for this purpose.

During his stay at Santiniketon, Prof. Hughes spent most of his time in the Cheena Bhawan with Prof. Tan Yun-shan, and gave an informal talk before a select audience.

While giving his impressions of the visit to Santiniketan, Prof. Hughes remarked that India, not to speak of the world, had there a true combination of academic education in all its stages, and practical education particularly in the service of the land for those who till the soil, and research into the hidden treasures of spiritual tradition.

Patna University

An amendment has been sanctioned by the Government of Bihar to the Patna University Regulations adding a new transitory regulation according to which if any students of any college or colleges in any universities in India, Ceylon, Burma and Malaya have evacuated or may evacuate from the territorial jurisdiction of their respective universities on account of a situation created by the present war, the periods of study spent by them there may be recognized by the Syndicate for the purpose of completing their studies in any of the colleges affiliated to this University provided the Syndicate is satisfied that such students were bonafide students of their respective universities.

This regulation shall have force for the duration of the war and for such period thereafter as the Senate may sanction in future.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad's Advice to Students

Addressing a meeting of students Dr. Rajendra Prasad advised them to overcome the deficiencies in the present system of education which he said neglected the moral and physical development of students.

The present day student, said Dr. Prasad, was wanting in physical and moral strength and was hardly fit to face the hardships of life. He asked them to study the life of Mahatma Gandhi and set it as an example before them and lay greater emphasis on character building. Prof. Abdul Bari presided.

Women in the I.M.S.

Ten women have been appointed to the Indian Medical Service so far. Applications of a good number of women medical graduates for admission into the I.M.S. are under consideration.

In a Press communique, dated January 13, 1942, the Government of India announced their decision to recruit to the Indian Medical Service, for the duration of the present emergency, a number of women medical graduates having experience in diseases of ear, nose and throat, radiology, pathology, ophthalmology or anaesthetics. The Government are now pleased to announce their decision to dispense with the condition requiring experience in these special subjects. Women medical graduates, therefore, whether or not they have experience in any of these subjects, are now eligible for employment in the Indian Medical Service.

Wide-Angle Star Camera

A new 24-36 inch star camera recently installed in a Cleveland observatory photographs 500 times as much sky as the small area, about 1° in diameter, now recorded by ordinary reflector telescopes. Reflecting mirrors hitherto could focus light from only a small section of the sky on the photographic plate, if fuzziness or distortion had to be avoided. In the new camera the light rays pass through a concave-convex lens which throws them on the mirror at such angles that the reflected image not only covers a wider area but is in sharp focus all over. The lens in addition is a super-speed one and requires only one-tenth as long as the fastest astronomical lenses previously used. For instance, distant nebulae which previously required 50 hours to be photographed could now be recorded in a single night.

Miscellany

SOCIALISM IN HOUSING AND HEALTH SCHEMES

The socio-economic complex of congestion (over-crowding), housing reform and town-planning furnishes an important problem in social causation. To what extent are the economic factors predominant, to what extent the political, and to what extent the ideological? Is it possible to treat the contemporary housing legislation of the diverse countries in an *advaita* monocratic or monistic fashion as the function exclusively of any one set of circumstances?

It is obvious that in England, France and Germany overcrowding was noted as something socially pathological during the first half of the nineteenth century. And yet hardly anything substantial was attempted to combat it and institute a new pattern of interhuman relations.[1] In England, for instance, the first invasion of cholera in 1831 and the Factory Commission of 1833 inspired discussions on health considerations. The public health agitation was active down to 1848. In 1843 a Commission investigated the health of "towns and populous places." And the first Public Health Act was passed in 1848. The ideology about public health was getting popularized. The wealth of England was also growing. But even in 1858 the General Board of Health functioning since 1848 as a body independent of and irresponsible to Parliament had to be dissolved because the people objected to central control. It was not until after the fifth invasion of cholera in 1871 that the Public Health Act could be placed on a secure and really effective basis in 1875. It is since that date that modern hygiene and sanitation may be said to have been established among the English people. The first Housing Act came in 1890. In between there was the Third Reform Act of 1885 which conferred power on the working classes, including the rural worker.

In Germany,[2] likewise, general culture as well as material wealth were growing, especially after the establishment of the *Deutscher Zollverein* (German Customs Union) in 1834. And although the institution of sanitary police in Prussia was effected in 1835 and the Cattle Plague Act enforced in the German Federation in 1869, it was not before 1876 that the rationalization of hygiene and sanitation on an All-German scale could be consummated by the establishment of the *Reichsgesundheitsamt* (Imperial Health Office). The next decade was marked by the series of Social Insurance Acts (1883-1889) by which Bismarck helped Germany to pioneer the world in a new form of constructive and positive socialism. It is this particular brand of socialism that has become universal throughout

[1] A. Newsholme: *The Ministry of Health* (London, 1925), *Health Problems in Organized Society* (London, 1927), *Fifty years in Public Health* (London, 1935) See also Aldridge: *The National Housing Manual* (published by the London National Housing and Town-Planning Council, 1923).

[2] A. Fischer: *Gesundheitspolitik und Gesundheitsgesetzgebung* (Berlin, 1914), pp. 93-96. See also Leinert: *Die Socialgeschichte der Grossstadt* (Hamburg, 1925) for subsequent developments in sanitary policy, housing statistics and legislation as well as social welfare activities.

the world on account of *étatisme*, *i.e.*, state functions for the people's developments.

It is since *c.* 1886-1890 that both England and Germany have been taking an active part in the promulgation of housing and town-planning schemes. This is just the epoch of socialistic administration in both countries. The overcrowding-housingreform-town-planning complex is, then, not so much a function of ideological progress and economic prosperity, for these were quite in evidence during the previous period (*c.* 1830-1885) without much practical effects on the relevant phenomenon as of deliberate state-intervention in social affairs, *i.e.*, socialism in politics or socialistic administration. Housing schemes require, of course, money, for execution and depend on the general will and intelligence of the people as a favouring condition. But seven or eight decades of economic prosperity as well as culture failed to render housing schemes the irreducible minimum of public administration. On the other hand, as soon as large doses of socialism, compulsory *étatisme* or state intervention, in the economic and social interests of citizens began to be accepted by the political leaders as the foundation of public life these schemes became the A.B.C. of every party programme. It is the politics of *laissez faire*, individualism, or liberalism, as it is called, that militated against the housing reform as against the reform of the Poor Law.[3] The factual replacement of *laissez faire* by socialism is the starting point of those reforms on a large scale and a systematic basis. It is politics rather than economics or culture that has played the more determining or dominant rôle in the establishment of these schemes in England and Germany and subsequently, in the leading Eur-American countries as well as in Japan and elsewhere.

The work of the previous generation in these fields need not be ignored. It prepared the ground in many directions and laid the foundations also for the subsequent developments. But it is virtually the last decade of the nineteenth century that should be described as the period of beginnings in self-conscious and aggressive legislation of a somewhat totalitarian character in regard to housing and health reconstruction. About this time socialism commences to be triumphant. In so far, besides, as the preparatory, educative work may be said to have been done during the period *c.* 1830-1885 it was likewise due to the impacts of nascent, budding or militant socialism struggling to conquer the masses and the classes as well as the political leaders against the *status quo* of *laissez faire*, non-intervention and individualism. The *digvijaya* (world-conquest) of socialism from point to point is the chief feature worth noticing in the social pattern of modern housing and sanitation.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

SOCIALISM AS THE LUXURY OF THE RICH

By what circumstances is the situation in India in regard to the housing problem dominated? It is questionable if we can assert that the Anglo-German conditions have been repeating themselves in India. Housing schemes involve, as we have seen above, large sums of money. Indeed, all socialistic endeavours are, as may be well understood, in a sense the

[3] S. and B. Webb: *English Poor Law Policy* (London 1910); B. L. Hutchins: *Public Health Agitation* 1833-48 (London, 1909).

luxuries of rich countries. This is a paradox. No money, no socialism in legislation or administration. In India the economic condition of the people is so low that the public finances can hardly look prosperous. Besides, the administration by foreigners is extra-ordinarily expensive, much too costly for the poor resources of the people. The depth of Indian poverty can be gauged to a certain extent from an examination of the income-tax returns, which have been discussed at length in *My Villages and Towns as Social Patterns* (Calcutta, 1941), pp. 42, 203, also Part IV, Ch. IV.

It is this crushing poverty of the people as manifest in the public revenues that should be regarded as a most discouraging factor in the carrying out of large-scale socialistic schemes in India under state auspices. The non-existence of housing and other reforms or rather the inconceivably slow and halting progress of socialistic measures relating to rural reconstruction, public health, general and technical education, etc., is due largely to national poverty and inadequate public finance. The "economic interpretation" can then be invoked in the present instance in a substantial measure.

We notice here a common fact, namely, the absence of or rather slow, tentative and halting growth of, housing, health and allied reforms, in India today (1940-42) and in the Anglo-German world (*c.* 1830-1885). The housing and health pattern of Calcutta, Bombay and such other cities is being excluded from the Indian picture as being too exceptional for the conditions prevailing generally in the rural as well as urban centres. But is this common phenomenon to be "interpreted" or explained by a common set of circumstances? We are not justified in accepting a common explanation. Relatively speaking, there was no poverty in the Anglo-German world during that period, whereas in the Indian pattern of today poverty is a dominant fact. The present situation in India should appear to be the opposite of that in England and Germany where down to *c.* 1885 poverty or the absence of resources could not be regarded as a fact of national life such as might militate against the introduction of housing and other social reforms. In the Anglo-German *milieu* it was mainly politics that retarded this reform legislation. In India it is mainly the economic factor that is hindering the progress of housing reform, health services, rural reconstruction and educational expansion.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

POVERTY *VIS-A-VIS* POLITICAL FREEDOM

Poverty can hardly be ascribed exclusively to foreign rule or treated functionally as its correlate. The existence of "relative" poverty in politically independent countries, even in the most prosperous among them including England, Germany, U.S.A., etc., should be a refutation of the "political interpretation" of poverty. The economic indices of Poland, Eastern Europe and the countries of the "Balkan Complex" as well as of Iran, Turkey, and China in Asia, and many of the regions in Latin America, these are mostly instances of "absolute" poverty. They do not happen to be superior to those of India although the former are not politically subject to foreign masters. The correlation between foreign rule and poverty, relative or absolute, cannot be accepted as a sociologically valid

proposition. Indian poverty, like the poverty of many other countries, has to be explained, most probably to a very considerable extent, by non-political considerations, which need not be discussed in the present context. Besides, the student of economic realities is aware that many of the indices indicate India's " relative " progress and advance,—although slight,—along virtually the entire front of agriculture, industry and commerce.[4] The indices of economic *baḍti* (progress, advance, improvement) have their bearings on the questions of " relative " poverty or prosperity.

An unmodern and poor country of Latin America is Paraguay,[5] whose social configuration is furnished by the facts, (1) that it is *ausgesprochenes Agrarland* (predominantly agricultural), and (2) that it is so inefficient that it must import food-grains and cattle. Agriculture is conducted in small plots. Large farming is unknown. Cotton also is raised on petty holdings. The purchasing power of the people is the smallest conceivable. The standard of living is impossibly low. Even a politically free country can thus be economically poor. Such free countries are legion. We have but to look at the " Balkan Complex," Western Asia as well as Latin America. The discussions bearing on culture-lags or social distances are also instructive in this regard.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL " INTERPRETATIONS "

It should be advisable to go into the economic cause more intensively and examine how far and to what extent it is valid.

Is it possible to assume that the state machinery in India is impregnated with socialism? There is no doubt that certain doses of socialism, *étatisme* or paternalism are to be found in the *milieu* of Indian public administration, especially under the Government of India Acts, 1922 and 1935. But it is not the Anglo-German state socialism of 1886-1890 that India can exhibit today. It is nothing more than a half-hearted or step-motherly solicitude for the welfare of the masses that characterizes the activities of the Government departments. The attitudes and orientations of the Indian Governments at the present moment are more or less identical with those of the Anglo-German states during *c.* 1830-1885, It is, therefore, not enough to plead exclusively the poverty of the people and argue *monistically* about the impossibility of socialistic or developmental achievements from the condition of public finance, miserable as it is. Poverty is not the only factor in the Indian social pattern of today. Other circumstances remaining the same, a more energetically patriotic state or an administration with a consciously goalful plan of action could show much higher results, say, in rural reconstruction, housing reform, etc., than the present regime. The " political interpretation " is, therefore, also to be invoked to a very large extent in order to explain the present sloth and indifference in housing, health, rural and other social reforms. The economic interpretation, then, is to be modified by the political.

[4] B. K. Sarkar : *Economic Development*, Vol. I. (Madras, 1926, 1938), Vol. II. (Calcutta, 1932, 1938); *The Sociology of Population* (Calcutta, 1936). These works are to be seen in the background of *Ekaler Dhana-daulat O Arthashastra* (The Wealth and Economics of our Own Times), Vol. I. (1930), Vol. II (1935).

[5] G. Möller : *Paraguay im Rahmen Süd-amerikas* (*Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, Heidelberg, June, 1939).

In this connection may be cited the observations made by Amulya Ukil in *Some Aspects of Public Health in India* (p. 41) as president of the Medical and Veterinary Research section at the Indian Science Congress (Benares, 2-8 January, 1941). "If India could mannage to spend Rs. 20 lakhs a day now to meet the military obligations of the present war," he points out with considerable justice, "and if lakhs of Rupees could be collected in the provinces for war purposes, it would not have been impossible to mobilize the necessary finance for national planning in peace-time had there been a desire and a policy in the administration to pursue a forward programme." This complaint is universal, in so far as anything is universal in India. Politics is not the only force. But it is undoubtedly a great force in social progress.

It remains to add that perhaps the general intelligence and will of the Indian people is not yet adequately awakened to the need and value of these reforms or reconstruction. A certain amount of interest in public health, housing, rural reconstruction is no doubt perceptible among the vocal classes, especially, of Calcutta, Bombay and such metropolitan centres. But the ideology does not seem to be strong and intensive enough to be able to force the public administration to carry out more effective and large scale measures. Even with the same poverty-complex a more radical will and intelligence, *i.e.*, a more substantial patriotism, nationalistic or socialistic, on the part of the people could help the reconstructions up to higher levels of achievement. The ideological atmosphere is not evidently as favourable in India today as it was in the Anglo-German world down to *c.* 1885. The absence of adequate ideology will in consequence have to explain a part of the shortcomings in regard to the overcrowding-housing-town-planning pattern in India.

England and Germany had money and ideology and yet could not bring about effective housing reform during *c.* 1830-1885. But this reform was carried through in a phenomenal manner as soon as political socialism captured the state (*c.* 1885-1890). In India there is not much money and hence no mentionable housing, health and rural reform. Besides, there are, first, small doses of socialism in the state, and, seccondly, perhaps smaller doses of intelligence, creative patriotism and culture among the people. These two circumstances are co-operating with the absence of adequate money to prevent the emergence of the reform desirable in housing and health and the reconstruction of the social pattern along modern lines.[6]

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

PLANNING SOVIETIC AND NON-SOVIETIC

In the cultural ecology established in East and West because of the Soviet Gosplans the intellectuals of India as of the rest of the world have been getting acculturated to the category, planning, programme, etc. In

[6] In regard to the general aspects of socialism *vis-à-vis* the housing-health complex see A. Newshome : *Health Problems in Organized Society* (London, 1927), chs. on. "The Relative Roles of Compulsion and Education in Public Health Work," and "The Limitations of Liberty in Communal Life," and *Evolution of Preventive Medicine* (London, 1927), ch. on "Poverty and Preventive Medecine" (Note the stress on "paid inspectors, whether they are known under the name of medical officers of health, sanitary inspectors or health visitors," p. 117).

regard to housing, as to health, rural welfare, agriculture, education, cattle, roads, and water we hear, therefore, very often of the absence of and the need for planning, planned economy, programme and so on. It is felt that in India there is no planning or policy in any field. This is a wrong view of the Indian situation in housing, health, economy, land reclamation or other items.[7]

There are many kinds of planning and programme. The Sovietic brand of totalitarian communism is not the only brand. There is the non-Sovietic planned economy too. And the non-Sovietic planning also is not all of the British, the Japanese, the German or the Italian pattern. There are plannings and plannings. India likewise has been for quite a long time having a planning of her own. Planning, like everything else in human life, is relative.

Housing and health planning in India is adapted to three main social forces. In the first place, India is a sub-continent of large magnitudes of poverty. Secondly, the state in India is in the main antinational and the administration generally rather unpatriotic. The Indian polity is so constituted as to keep in perpetuity a lag [8] of some two generations between the *sociologie coloniale* and the *sociologie impérialiste*. It is to be admitted, however, that a few homœopathic doses of democracy and socialism have been administered by the Government of India Acts, 1919 and 1935. They have served but to "render darkness visible." Last but not least, the nationalists, socialists and other patriots are neither large enough in number nor culturally, technically, and politically equipped enough to raise the cry for the minimum conditions of existence permanently and effectively before India and the world. The little reform or progress in housing, health, rural conditions, agriculture, education, etc., that is statistically demonstrable in India today, is to be accounted for by this kind of unsystematic, partial and semi-charitable planning.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE FETISH OF VILLAGE-MINDEDNESS

There is a tendency among government officials as well as non-government publicists to talk frequently of village-mindedness, health-orientations, welfare-psychology or desire for betterment. This kind of lectures about awakening the village-sense, health-sense, or welfare-sense of the masses can be tolerated by the people up to a certain extent and within reasonable limits. But it can become senseless when one tries to make a fetish of educating the people about their desires for health or rural improvement. Mere intellectual awakening cannot, as is well-known to everybody, accomplish anything solid in any field. This sort of intellectual, ideological, or cultural monocracy, *advaitavada* or monism requires to be combated by every student of socialism and progress.

The masses cannot but challenge the sincerity of such lectures and propagandas when they find that these are not backed by adequate funds

[7] B. K. Sarkar: "Economic Planning for Bengal" (*Insurance and Finance Review*, Calcutta, March, 1938) and "Industrial Planning and Economic Autarchy" (*Calcutta Review*, August, 1939).

[8] B. K. Sarkar: "The Equations of World-Economy" (*Calcutta Review*, June, 1941), *Villages and Towns as Social Patterns* (Calcutta, 1941), pp. 17, 30-31, 87, 123.

coming from any source. Nor are they likely to appreciate the schoolboyish philosophies about being keen on or alive to sanitary progress, rural reconstruction or economic advance as long as they see that the governments, central and local, the municipalities, the district boards or the industrial concerns do not employ a sufficient number of paid officers as experts. Such officials are necessary in diverse lines in order to help the men, women and children of the villages and towns from year's end to year's end with advice, substantial assistance of a material character, and last but not least, financial subsidy. Subsidies are normal in the administrative ecology of England and Germany.[9]

The attempt to foster the spirit of self-help, independent exertions, individual initiatives, voluntary service, patriotic village or health work can be carried to absurd lengths. I have always stressed creative individualism as a paramount force in personal morality and social progress.[10] But there is a limit to individual exertions, the services of volunteers, and self-directed creativities. This is why even in the Co-operative Departments of Eur-America and Japan the backbone of rural and agricultural finance is furnished not by the so-called self-help of peasants, cultivators or farmers, relatively poor and indebted as they permanently are, but by the subsidies, grants, allocations, and guarantees from the Government Treasury or the Central, National or Reserve Banks.[11]

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[9] *Report on the British Health Services* (PEP, London, 1937); C. W. Guillebaud: *The Social Policy of Nazi Germany* (Cambridge, 1941).

[10] "The Sociology of Creative Disequilibrium in Education" (*Calcutta Review*, June, 1940).

[11] See, for instance, B. K. Sarkar: *Economic Development*, Vol. I. (Madras, 1926, 1938), the section relating to the French *Credit Agricole*. For America see W. W. Jennings: *History of Economic Progress in the U. S.* (London, 1925), section on "Aid to Farmers," etc., pp. 583-588.

Reviews and Notices of Books

India: The Road to Self-Government—By Prof. John Coatman. Published by Messrs John Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. Pp. 146. Price 5*s*.

The author narrates the progress made by India towards self-government from 1908 downwards and has succeeded, within the limits imposed on him by the size of his book, in giving his readers a fairly adequate and dependable account of the gradual liberalisation of the Indian constitution up to the Government of India Act, 1935.

Written by an Englishman, obviously for his own countrymen, Prof. Coatman has failed to make due allowance for Indian feelings and sentiments and has occasionally been betrayed into dwelling with what some would hold to be a certain amount of complacence on the value and importance of the political concessions granted to India from time to time.

An omission, probably unintentional, is the part played in the introduction of communal electorates in our public life, by certain Britons, official and non-official. Among other things, a study of the diary of Lord Minto is something every Englishman, desirous of familiarising himself with the causes of our present-day difficulties, should undertake. The student of Indian history is aware that not merely the Hindu or the Mussalman but the British commercial interests also are tarred with the same communal brush.

The honesty of the attitude, that India's further political progress must depend on the settlement of the differences between the Hindu and the Muslim will pass unchallenged only when India has reasons to believe that British interests will make no demur in giving up the special safeguards now enjoyed by it in the shape of weightage and of representation out of all proportion to the amount of capital invested by the non-Indians or the services rendered to India apart from those which are the bye-products of business enterprises carried on for profit. From this point of view, the pronouncement of Sir Stafford Cripps seems a move in the right direction.

On the whole, this book may be said to be useful as giving, in a compendious and popular form, a history of India's political progress from the Morley-Minto Reforms down to the Government of India Act, 1935. In the last few pages we find an account, brief and accurate, of recent political happenings down to the first Sapru Conference held at Bombay.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan—By Shamsu'l 'Ulama al-Ḥāj Muḥammad 'Abdu'l Ghanī, M.A. (Allahabad), M.Litt. (Cambridge), Head of the Department of Arabic and Persian in the University of Nagpur, C.P., with a Foreword by Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, M.A., D.Sc., LL.D. Printed and published by J. K. Sharma at the Allahabad Law Journal Press, Allahabad. Pp. i-xliii + 1-505. 1941.

Shamsu'l-'Ulamā Prof. Muḥammad 'Abdu'l Ghanī's Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindūstān is a critical survey of the growth of Persian language and literature in India from the earliest times down to the advent of the Mughal rule. It embodies the results of considerable research on the part of the author. The author begins by showing on historical data that cultural contact existed between India and Irān from a remote antiquity.

In the opinion of the author the contributions by Indian scholars and poets to the cultivation of Persian language and literature are on a par with Persia and there is no justification for distinction between the Persian *Persian* and the Indian *Persian* which is drawn by even European Orientalists. The author has sought to substantiate his position by quoting chapter and verse. This suggests a new field for research and requires a further deep study and thorough investigation. The task which the author has set himself to fulfil is a gigantic one and it must be said that he has acquitted himself creditably in consideration of the lack of facilities for research in this country. But for its diffuse writing and lack of method, the utility of the book would have been greatly enhanced.

But it must be noted that Browne speaks of "Baboo Persian," not with reference to the early Persian poets of India dealt with by the author, but with regard to the poets of the Mughal period (*see* Browne's Literary History of Persia, ii, 353).

The early Indian poets in Persian down to Amīr Khusraw retained the integrity of Persian idiom in their compositions and some of them have received high compliments from the Persian Memoir-writers who are generally reluctant to give due recognition to them. The lives and works of these Indian poets who wrote in Persian have not received the attention they deserve and the author has done a valuable service to the cause of the evolution of Persian poetry in India. However, it is surprising that an-Nukatī, the first Indian poet in Persian, finds but a bare mention and his pen-name, too, is wrongly spelt as "Alankatī" (p. 193). Poor an-Nukatī !

Again Rābi'a of *Baṣra* (b. probably about 99 A.H./717 A.D.) is confused with Rābi'a of *Quzdār*, and placed wrongly in the category of poets who flourished during the Sāmānid period (A.H. 261-389/A.D. 874-999). Also 'Azdud-dawlah (p. 81) should have been spelt 'Azudu'd-Dawla or 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla.

The author, probably on the authority of Mr. M. Minovi, attributes the authorship of the Naurūz-nāma (published Tehran, 1933) to 'Umar Khayyām (p. 100). But F. Gabrieli strongly refutes this view in his article "Il Nawrūz-Nāmeh e 'Omar Hayyām" published in the "Annali" dè R. Institute Superiore Orientale de Napoli, vol. viii, June, 1936. Prof. V. Minorsky holds the same view as Gabrieli, (Encyclopaedia of Islam).

It is difficult to agree with the late Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman when he remarks in his Foreward that the subject-matter of the work under review "furnishes . . . hitherto untrodden field of research." It is enough to mention that the work in question was already forestalled by Dr. Iqbal Husain's doctorate thesis "The Early Persian Poets of India" (A.H. 421-670), published by the Patna University, 1937.

A history of Persian language and literature, as flourished in India from the time of Jahāngīr to the present day, is still a *desideratum*.

M. ISHAQUE

Devi-Juddhe Chintaniya (Bengali)—By Swami Durgachaitanya Bharati. Published by the author, 42, Manmandir, Benares. Price Eight Annas.

This is an attempt to elucidate the central theme of the *Chandī*. The author brings out, in language of luminous lucidity, the spiritual truths that are enacted in the battle between the Asuras and the World-Mother. The book will be an eye-opener to many, and spiritual aspirants will, I am confident, find much light and guidance.

A. C. DAS

Ourselves

[*I. Asutosh Day.—II. The Late Rai Bahadur G. C. Ghosh.—III. The Late Nalini Mohan Chatterjee.—IV. Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee.—V. Indian Historical Records Commission.—VI. A New D.Sc.—VII. The St. Mary's College, Shillong.—VIII. Affiliation of Colleges.—IX. Imperial Library.—X. Professor J. N. Mukherjee.—XI. Law Examinations.*]

I. Asutosh Day

The eighteenth death anniversary of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was observed by the Calcutta University on the 25th May last. The Syndics, Fellows, members of the staff and students participated as usual in large number. In the morning a memorial meeting was held at the foot of his statue in Chowringhee Square. It was presided over by Mr. Justice Rupendra Coomar Mitter who exhorted the audience to act up to the principles and ideals which Sir Asutosh had held so dear. In the evening his bust at the entrance of the first floor of the Darbhanga Building was garlanded by Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy, the Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University and in so doing he paid his tribute of respect to the memory of the great departed. He dwelt on the significance of the life of Sir Asutosh and the example which it held before all, particularly before those who were connected in one capacity or another with the University of Calcutta. It was not enough, said Dr. Roy, that once a year they assembled in the hall of that seat of learning which Sir Asutosh had made so great and so famous, and remembered for a few minutes, the ideals which he had cherished. It was incumbent upon all who were connected with the University to emulate in their daily life the example which he had set. The most important function of the University, Sir Asutosh beleived, was to teach its alumni how to stand full height and look men and things in the face, without hesitation and without faltering. Dr. Roy asked the students and teachers assembled to keep this ever in mind and to act as men, in times normal and abnormal, with perfect selft-confidence.

After the prayer and the discourse, there was a *kirtan* performance in which among others Rai Bahadur Khagendranath Mitra participated.

II. The Late Rai Bahadur G. C. Ghosh

We have heard with great regret of the death of Rai Bahadur G. C. Ghosh. A son of the late Hurro Chander Ghose who was a Judge of the Calcutta Small Causes Court and one of the founders of the Bethune College, the late Rai Bahadur became an enthusiast for education and a patron of learning. Benevolent by nature, he became more open-handed still after the death of his only son. To perpetuate his memory he helped the Calcutta University by the handsome donation of one lakh of rupees in establishing after his name a lecturership in Comparative Religion. Among the other institutions which benefited by his charity are the Oxford Mission, the St. Paul's College and the Carmichael Medical College Hospital, Calcutta. The Nirmalendu Tuberculosis Sanatorium at the last named institution bears an eloquent testimony to the large-heartedness of the late Rai Bahadur. Christian by religion, he was a man of tolerant disposition and wide cultural sympathies. He was an Honorary Presidency Magistrate, Chairman of the National Council of the Y. M. C. A., India, Burma and Ceylon, and an Honorary Fellow of this University. With the Calcutta Review his connection was long and intimate and it was in this journal that he published his poem, "The Message of the Buddha." By his death the country has lost a cultured, public-spirited gentleman, and the Calcutta University a great benefactor.

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III. The Late Nalini Mohan Chatterjee

The news of the death of Mr. Nalini Mohan Chatterjee, M.A., Lecturer in English, Calcutta University, has come to us as a great shock. As a student of language and literature, he possessed knowledge at once wide and deep. He had taken his Master's degree not only in both the groups in English but also in Latin, Greek and Arabic. His knowledge in the language and literature of several countries also was of no mean order. His connection with the Post-Graduate Department of this University dated from 1918 and during this long period he maintained very friendly personal relations with successive batches of students who had the good fortune to read with him. By his death the University has lost an excellent teacher and we a valued contributor.

IV. Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to nominate Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee, Kt., M.A., B.L., to be an Ordinary Fellow of this University. He has been attached to the Faculties of Arts and Law.

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V. Indian Historical Records Commission

Dr. P. C. Gupta, a Lecturer in History, Calcutta University, has been appointed a Corresponding Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission for a period of five years.

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VI. A New D.Sc.

Mr. Narayan Chandra Sengupta, M.Sc., has been admitted to the degree of Doctor of Science by this University. The theses submitted in this connection are entitled " The Moving boundary method for the determination of absolute rates of migration and transport numbers of Electrolytic Ions and Cataphoretic Velocities of colloids " and " The Viscous, Thixotropic and Electrochemical properties of Bentonites " His work was examined and approved of by a Board of Examiners, consisting of Dr. J. C. Ghosh, Dr. Irving Langmuir and Professor J. W. McBain, F. R. S. We offer our congratulations to Dr. Sengupta.

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VII. The St. Mary's College, Shillong

His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1942-43, the St. Mary's College, Shillong, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Alt. English, Bengali, Assamese, Khasi, (Vernacular) French, Political Economy and Political Philosophy and Mental and Moral Philosophy with B.A. (Pass) Standard (with permission to present candidates at the B. A. Examination in the above subjects from 1944.)

VIII. Affiliation of Colleges

The Syndicate has recommended to the Senate that in extension of affiliation already granted to the following colleges, they be affiliated with effect from the commencement of the session 1942-43, in the subject or subjects and standards put against their names with permission to present candidates in 1944 and not earlier:

Bangabasi College—B.Com.—Accountancy, Commercial Law, General Economics, Indian Economics, Business Organisation, Commercial Geography, Advanced Accountancy and Auditing, Banking and Currency, English Composition, Bengali, Hindi and French.

Srikail College, Tippera—B.A. (Pass)—English, Bengali, Sanskrit, History Philosophy, Economics and Mathematics.

Hindu Academy, Daulatpur—I.A.—Commercial Arithmetic and Book-keeping, and Commercial Geography.

Victoria College, Narail—I.A.—Elements of Civics and Economics.

Jessore College—I.A.—Commercial Arithmetic, Book-keeping, Commercial Geography, Bengali (2nd Language).

B.A.—English, Bengali (Vernacular and 2nd Language), History, Political Economy and Political Philosophy, Mental and Moral Philosophy, and Sanskrit.

Radhakanta Handique Girls' College, Gauhati—I.A.—Botany.

Victoria College, Comilla—B.Sc.—Physics (Pass), Chemistry (Pass) and Mathematics (Pass and Hons.)

B.A. (Hons.)—History.

I.A.—Hindu Colonial Expansion and Islam Outside India.

B. Barooah College, Gauhati—I.A.—English, Assamese (Vernacular), Civics and Economics, History, Sanskrit, Mathematics, Commercial Geography, and Commercial Arithmetic and Book-keeping.

Madhab Chaudhury College, Barpeta—I.A.—Commercial Geography, and Arithmetic and Book-keeping.

Brajamohan College, Barisal—B.A. (Hons.)—Political Economy and Political Philosophy.
I.A.—Commercial Geography and Arithmetic, and Book-keeping.

Proposed Manikganj College, Terasree—I.A.—English, Bengali, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, History, Logic, Mathematics, Civics, Commercial Geography, Commercial Arithmetic and Book-keeping.

Victoria College, Cooch-Behar—I.A.—Elements of Civics and Economics.

Lady Brabourne College, Calcutta—B.A. (Hons.)—Arabic, Persian and History.
B.A. (Pass)—Geography.
I.A.—Commercial Geography.

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IX. Imperial Library

Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy, B. A., M. D., M. R. C. P. (Lond.), F. R. C. S. (Eng.), F. S. M. F. (Bengal), has been appointed a representative of this University on the Council of the Imperial Library, in place of the Hon'ble Sir M. Azizul Huque, resigned.

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X. Professor J. N. Mukherjee

Professor J. N. Mukherjee has been invited by the Technical Secretary, Board of Scientific and Industrial Research (Finance Department, Government of India) to serve as a member of a committee for starting a Central Glass Research Institute.

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XI. Law Examinations

The next Law Examinations commence on the 24th June, 1942.

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

Latest Publications

Gleanings from My Researches, Vol. II, by Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt., Rai Bahadur, M.A., M.D., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B., F.S.M.F. (Bengal). D/C 8vo pp. 364+xviii. Rs. 7-8.

Bageswari Silpaprabandhabali, by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, C.I.E. Royal 8vo pp. 400. Rs. 1-12.

Adam's Reports on Education, 1835-38, edited by Mr. A. N. Basu, M.A., T.D. (Lond.). D/Demy 16mo pp. 578+lxvii. Rs. 5-0.

Philosophical Essays, by Prof. S. N. Dasgupta, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab), D.Litt. (Rome). Royal 8vo pp. 398. Rs. 5-8.

The Development of Hindu Iconography, by Dr. Jitendranath Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 460+xvi. Rs. 7-0.

Public Health and Social Service (*Basanta Lectures*), by Dr. John B. Grant, M.D., M.P.H. Demy 8vo pp. 66. As. 8.

Kamala Lectures, by Mr. Hirendranath Datta, M.A., B.L., Vidyaratna. D/Demy 16mo pp. 119+ix. Re. 1-8.

Dakshinatya, by Mr. Lalitkumar Chatterji. D/F'Cap. 8vo pp. 174. Re. 1-0.

Poetry, Monads and Society (*Sir George Stanley Lectures,* 1941), by Mr. Humayun Kabir, M.A. (Oxon.). Demy 8vo pp. 204+x. Rs. 3-0.

Dharma Sadhana, by Sm. Swarna Prabha Sen, B.A., B.T. Demy 8vo pp. 113+9. Re. 1.

Ramdas and Sivaji (*Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures*), by Mr. Charuchandra Datta, I.C.S. (Retd.). Demy 8vo pp. 373+4. Rs. 1-12.

Hegeler Darsanik Matabad, by Mr. Nagendranath Sengupta, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 98+13. Re. 1-0.

Buddhi-o-Bodhi, by Mr. Hirendranath Datta, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 78. As. 8.

Gitar Bani, by Mr. Anilbaran Ray. Demy 8vo pp. 198. Re. 1-0.

Upanisader Alo (Revised Edition), by Dr. Mahendranath Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo pp. 668. Re. 1-0.

Manobijnan, by Mr. Charuchandra Sinha, M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 426. Rs. 2-0.

Bharater Deb Deul, by Mr. Jyotishchandra Ghosh. Demy 8vo pp. 262. Rs. 3-0.

Finite Geometrical Systems, by Prof. F. W. Levi, Dr.Phil. Nat. Royal 8vo pp. 54. As. 12.

Ganiter Vitti, by Dr. Jyotirmay Ghosh, M.A., Ph.D. D/Cr. 16mo pp. 60. As. 8.

Vedantadarsan Advaitabad, Part I, by Dr. Asutosh Bhattacharyya, Sastri, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 540.

Padma Puran, by Kabi Narayan Deb, edited by Dr. Tamonashchandra Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D. Royal 8vo pp. 398.

Calculus of Finite Differences, by Mr. Pramathanath Mitra, M.A. D/Demy 16mo pp. 222+x. Rs. 7-8.

Narayana Paripreccha, by Mr. Anukulchandra Banerjee, M.A. D/F'Cap. 8vo pp. 28.

BOOKS IN THE PRESS

MAY, 1942

1. Girischandra: His Mind and Art, by Mr. Mahendranath Dutt.
2. Generalities (*Readership Lectures*), by F. W. Thomas, Esq., M.A.
3. Kritikar Memorial Volume, No. 1, edited by Dr. S. R. Bose, M.A., Ph.D.
4. History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. I, edited by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.).
5. University Calendar, Part I, 1942.
6. Sree Krishna Bijay, edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. Khagendranath Mitra, M.A.
7. Cynewulf and the Cynewulf Canon, by Dr. S. K. Das, M.A., Ph.D.
8. Studies in the History of British in India, by Dr. A. P. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
9. Post-Graduate Volume (Arts and Science), 1940.
10. Elements of the Science of Language (Revised Edition), by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D.
11. Life and Works of Khawja Hasan of Delhi, by Mr. S. K. Rahman, M.A.
12. Krishi-Bijnan, Vol. II, by the late Rai Rajeswar Dasgupta, Bahadur.
13. Agamasastra of Gauḍapāda, by MM. Prof. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
14. Negative Fact: Negation and Truth, by Dr. Adharchandra Das, M.A., Ph.D.
15. Vyaptipanchaka, by Pt. Anantakumar Tarkatirtha.
16. Bharatiya Banaushadhi Parichaya, by Dr. Kalipada Biswas, M.A., D.Sc., and Mr. Ekkari Ghosh.
17. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXXIII.
18. Prachin Bangla Patra Sankalan, edited by Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt.
19. Prohibitions in the Kali Age, by Mr. Batuknath Bhattacharyya.
20. Collected Published Papers, by the late Mr. Hemchandra Dasgupta, M.A., F.G.S.

21. Rivers of the Bengal Delta (*Readership Lectures*), by Mr. S. C. Majumdar.
22. Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India, by Dr. Narayanchandra Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D.
23. Translation of Pali Literature and Language, by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, Dr.Phil., D.Litt.
24. Siddhantasekhara, Vol. II, by Pandit Babua Misra.
25. Kabita Sangraha, III, edited by Rai Bahadur Prof. K. N. Mitra, M.A.
26. An Administrative Study of the Development of Civil Service, by Dr. A. K. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D.
27. Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, by Dr. Binaychandra Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
28. History of Bengali Language and Literature, by the late Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt.
29. Ancient Indian Chronology, by Mr. P. C. Sengupta, M.A.
30. Industry in India, by Dr. P. N. Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law.
31. An Analytical Survey of Bengal Regulations, by Rai Bahadur M. N. Gupta, M.A., B.L.
32. Beharilaler Kavya Sangraha (1st Reprint), by the late Mr. Beharilal Chakrabarti.
33. Some Modern Trends in the Evolution of Human Institution (*Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures*), by Dr. P. C. Basu, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D.
34. Social and Rural Economy of Northern India, by Mr. Atindranath Bose, M.A.
35. On the Method of Teaching Bengali as a Mother Tongue, by Srimati Kalyani Sen, M.A., B.T.
36. Bangla Abhidhan Granther Parichay, by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya, M.A.
37. Manasamangal, by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya, M.A.
38. History of Indian Literature, Vol. III, by the late Prof. M. Winternitz, Ph.D.
39. Training in Leadership and Citizenship for Young India, by Mr. S. C. Ray, M.A. (Lond.), I.E.S.
40. Orthographical Dictionary, edited by Mr. Charuchandra Bhattacharyya.
41. Brief Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., edited by MM. Prof. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
42. Journal of the Department of Science, Vol. I, No. 3.
43. Obscure Religious Cults as Back-ground of Bengali Literature, by Dr. L. B. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D.
44. Asutosh Sanskrit Series, II and III, edited by MM. Prof. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya, Sastri.

45. Magadha: Architecture and Culture, by Mr. Srischandra Chatterjee.
46. Bkah Babs Bolun, by MM. Prof. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya, Sastri.
47. Murshidabader Itihas, by late Nikhilnath Ray.
48. Manjusrinama Sangiti, by Mr. Durgadas Mukerjee, M.A.
49. Psychological Determinants in the Choice of Vocation, by Mr. Sarojendranath Ray, M.Sc.
50. Haramani, by Mr. M. Mansuruddin, M.A.
51. Lectures on Fuels and Furnaces (*Extension Lectures*), by Dr. A. K. Saha, D.Sc.
52. Madhyayuger Bharatiya Samaj, by Dr. Narayanchandra Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D.
53. Sree-Bhaktisandarbha, edited by Pandit Radharaman Goswami, Vedantabhushan and Pandit Krishnagopal Goswami, Sastri, Smriti-Mimansatirtha, M.A.
54. Contributions of South India to Indian Culture, by Dewan Bahadur S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Ph.D.
55. Selected Inscriptions of Different Periods, by Dr. Dineschandra Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
56. Jiban Maitrer Padma Puran, edited by Mr. Sambhucharan Chaudhuri.
57. University Question Papers, 1939 and 1940.
58. Calendar, Part II, 1929, Supplement, 1939.
59. Sakta Padavali, by Mr. Amarendranath Ray.
60. Raisekhara Padavali, by Mr. Jatindramohan Bhattacharyya, M.A.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

IV HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY

2. INDIA (MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN)

The Central Authority in British India: 1774-84, by A. P. Dasgupta, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London). *Demy 8vo pp. 375. Rs. 5-0.*

This volume deals with the difficulties with which the Central authority in British India was faced during the first years of its existence, on account of the vague and limited powers entrusted to it by the Act which gave it birth, while the tradition of independence in the subordinate Presidencies died hard. It reveals the great struggle which took place between the Governor-General and Council of Bengal with the Madras Government to retain what each side interpreted to be its own position under the Act of 1773. The background of the work is the foreign relations of the English Presidencies during the eventful period from 1774 to 1784, and it illustrates how a critical time in the history of the British in India had to be faced by a defective organisation.

Prof. H. Dodwell (London University) :—".....a sound and excellent piece of work marked by careful research and clear judgment."

P. E. Roberts (Oxford) :—".....An admirable piece of research which throws valuable light on an important controversial question.....Mr. Dasgupta shows excellent judgment and great impartiality and I find myself in almost complete agreement with his views.....shows remarkable power of holding the balance true. His whole treatment of the subject is lucid and impartial and is a most refreshing change from the spirit of partisanship in which Indian history is too often written....."

R. B. Ramsbotham (ex-Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh) :—".....offer you my warm congratulations on a valuable addition to our knowledge of the British period. It is a scholarly and workmanlike piece of research, most admirably documented, and it belongs in this respect to the new school of historical study in India which is shedding so much light on past history because scientific methods of research are employed,.....I think the book should be made compulsory for all students of Indian Constitutional History."

Sir A. Berriedale Keith (Edinburgh) :—".....a very useful aid to the appreciation of the complex and unsatisfactory position resulting from the inadequate and tentative provisions of the Regulating Act. It throws much light on questions imperfectly presented in the published literature, and does credit at once to the author's diligence in research and to his power of grasping essential facts and of presenting them clearly and with a due sense of value."

India in the Seventeenth Century, by J. N. Dasgupta, B.A. (Oxon.). *Demy 8vo pp. 285. Rs. 3-8.*

The condition of India in respect of its political, social, and economic aspects, in the early years of the East India Company, has been described in this volume with the help of the narratives of European travellers and foreign observers who were drawn to this land by their love of adventure, the fascination of romance, and the call of the East.

The Crisis of Indian Civilisation in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century, by Prof. Herman Goetz, Ph.D. *Royal 8vo pp. 56. As. 12.*

Ranjit Singh, by N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D. *Demy 8vo pp. 225. Rs. 2-8.*

It is an important treatise giving much new information regarding the relations between the Sikhs and the Afghans during forty years preceding the First Afghan War. It also refers to the relations of the military monarchy of the Punjab with the British Indian Government and other Indian States. A graphic description of the system of civil administration and a critical account of the military system of Ranjit Singh are also to be found in the book.

Sir William Foster, Kt. :—" This monograph is a modest and sincere piece of work, based upon a careful study of all available materials, including the documents in the Imperial Record Office. He has brought together in a small compass a mass of information that cannot fail to be of much value to students of the subject. The administrative details given in Chapter VIII are specially interesting."

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt. :—" Ranjit Singh by Mr. Narendra Krishna Sinha is a useful work. The author has treated the subject with some freshness of thought and avoided diffuse wordiness."

Principal H. G. Rawlinson (Deccan College, Poona) :—" It is a valuable little book as it is the result of much patient research and contains a good deal of fresh material."

Dr. Jules Bloch (Paris) :—" I find the book useful and agreeable. If Mr. Sinha is really as he calls himself a neophyte, we may hope much from him in the future, as he is capable of clear, well-ordained as well as thoughtful writing."

Principal K. Zachariah (Hooghly College) :—" I do think your work does convey a clear idea of the growth of Ranjit Singh's Empire and the general organisation of his government. There are many things I should specially commend. Your critical sense, your impartiality, your lucid arrangement, your wide view of history and use of historical parallels and contrasts, your simple and clear style, all this I can honestly praise and I congratulate you on your work."

Rise of the Sikh Power, by N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D. *Demy 8vo pp. 249+2 maps. Rs. 4-0.*

In this book an attempt has been made by the author to trace the history of the Sikh struggle for independence in the eighteenth century and Sikh rule in the Punjab before the advent of Ranjit Singh.

H. L. O. Garrett in J.R.A.S.—"The book is a useful and careful contribution to the history of a little known period of Indian history. . . . The authorities are not many and some of them are of little value, but the author in his bibliography clearly indicates what is likely to be of value to any future investigator. The author has wisely made use of Whitehead's Catalogue of Coins in the Lahore Museum."

Evolution of the Khalsa, Vol. I, by Indubhushan Banerjee, M.A. *Demy 8vo pp. 320. Rs. 4-0.*

The author here traces the evolution of Sikhism till Guru Govind Singh introduced his reforms and brought the Khalsa into existence. The first volume deals with the foundation of the Sikh Panth and covers the period till 1604 when the Granth Sahib was compiled and the peaceful evolution of Sikhism practically came to an end. The background of the movement has also been brought under review and the concluding chapter gives a detailed analysis of Sikh ideals and institutions.

Prof. A. B. Keith :—"This is a very interesting book, written in a historical spirit and with intelligent comprehension of religious ideals. Chapter VI on Ideals and Institutions is a well-balanced presentation of the position and reflects credit on the author's judgment. Appendix A on Guru Nanak and the Caste system is a moderate and cogent statement which probably gives the truth of a disputed position."

The Santal Insurrection of 1855-57, by Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D. *Royal 8vo pp. xi+163.* 1940. *Re. 1-8.*

The Santal Insurrection of 1855-57 is an important episode in the annals of Bengal and Bihar during the mid-nineteenth century, which forms, in many ways, a transitional period in the history of India as a whole. It had been so long referred to, rather briefly, by some writers. In this volume the author has made an exhaustive and critical study of the subject on the basis of some original unpublished records, discovered by him in Government archives and in private collections. It contains interesting details regarding the early history of the modern district of Santal Paraganas, formation of the Damin-i-koh with its administration and economic condition and immigration of the Santals into the skirts of the Rajmahal Hills. The causes of the Insurrection and its sequel leading to the formation of the modern district of Santal Parganas have been scientifically discussed. A study of this book would serve to remove many

wrong notions, relating to the history and ethnology of this district, that are entertained by some even to-day.

" .....The work deals with a little known incident and it bears ample evidence to the erudition and industry of the learned author who has already made his name as an accurate historical investigator. It is, in my opinion, a very valuable addition to the works on Indian History published by the Calcutta University Press."*Prof. S. N. Sen, Keeper of Records of the Government of India.*

" In this volume Dr. Datta has thrown sufficient light on one of the least known but important episodes in the history of Bengal and Bihar on the eve of the Mutiny of 1857-59. His account is based on a comprehensive study of a variety of original sources, such as the unpublished records of the E. I. Company, contemporary Bengali manuscripts, contemporary ballads and autobiographies and some contemporary papers like 'The Friend of India,' 'The Calcutta Review' etc. Being an inhabitant of the Santal Parganas, he has been able to collect some of these materials, and to determine accurately the topographical details, by conducting personal tours through the remote interior parts of that district. As usual with the learned author, all his statements have been made on the strength of documentary evidence, and his conclusions are accordingly critical and rational. His language and expressions are admirable. We consider the study of this piece of work to be indispensable for an accurate knowledge of the history of a corner of our country during the transitional period of the mid-nineteenth century. The book contains a very useful map; and its printing and get-up are excellent. We congratulate the University of Calcutta for having published this book, which, we confidently believe, forms a precious addition to the stock of scientific historical literature relating to Modern India."—*Amrita Bazar Patrika.*

Historical Records of Baroda, by Rai Bahadur B. A. Gupte, M.R.A.S., F.Z.S. *(with annotations). Royal 8vo pp. 166. Rs. 6-0.*

Compiled from original Maratha documents, which throw a side-light on the transactions of the Hon'ble East India Company's Officers, the book offers glimpses of the Baroda administration, describes the Poona politics during the last stages of the Maratha Empire, and records the working of the almost nominal sway of the Raja of Satara. Profusely illustrated.

Aspects of Bengali Society, by Tamonashchandra Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D. *Royal 8vo pp. 409. Rs. 4-8.*

Dr. Dasgupta's work, originally a thesis for the Doctorate of the Calcutta University, embodies the result of the research-work carried for a number of years in the field of the Social History of Bengal and contains a wealth of important material for which the author has ransacked old Bengali literature with admirable patience. It is a most lucid and authoritative account of social conditions prevailing in Bengal during the Middle Ages. The ground it covers has never been covered before. " Ship-building and Commerce," " Hindu-Moslem Unity," " Architecture," " Religion," " Agriculture," " Economic Condition," are some of the chapter-headings.

1. *Dr. Sylvain Lévi.*—" No book on modern history of India, as good as it may be, can compare with the picture you have given.....From materials collected with an untiring industry, you have built up something living, and full of life indeed. Years ago, I could see from your information on ships and sea-trade, so kindly compiled on my request, that your place was among the best-gifted young scholars of India. I can assure you that I constantly refer to your papers, whenever I do not happen to find exactly the information I am hunting for. I come across facts and dates which prove important in some other lines. When your example inspires a team of young workers who would do for the whole of India what you have so happily done for Bengal, then a real history of modern India can be written : instead of local or imperial chronicles centering around rajas and padishahs, we shall get an image of Indian people, Indian life, Indian activity. Your charming chapter on birds comes as a lovely conclusion; you have not to apologise for it, but we have to thank you for this valuable addition."

2. *Luzac's Oriental List and Book Review.*—" It embraces a wide range of topics : ship-building, commerce, architecture, warfare war-music, pastimes, clothes, ornaments and cooking, besides which there are some more general chapters on manners and customs and Hindu-Moslem unity, the latter containing some instructive instances of the tendency of the two faiths—now-a-days rather sadly at variance—to coalesce. We read of Brahmins consulting the Koran to find out an auspicious day and of a Mahomedan poet dedicating his poems to Krishna.....

" The book is valuable as well as interesting. It contains a mass of carefully sorted out details never before made available with lists of technical words, articles of trade and the like which make it a most useful book of reference."

3. *The Modern Seview.*—" He has patiently and faithfully collected the materials on eleven topics, and those who depend on and are in need of such materials will derive much benefit from the work under notice....."

4. *A. Berriedale Keith.*—" It contains a remarkable amount of detailed information not available elsewhere. The author is to be congratulated of the care with which he has collected material and on the interesting manner in which it is presented. Especial value attaches to the illustrations which add very greatly to the usefulness of the text. The work is a notable addition to the long list of important publications of the University of Calcutta."

5. *Prof. Dr. M. Winternitz.*—" This is one of the most interesting and valuable books that have lately come before my eyes. It throws a flood of light on the social, religious and cultural life of Bengal in former centuries. But far from being of interest only for the history of Bengal, it will be thankfully welcomed by all Indologists interested in the social history of India."

6. *Prof. Dr. Sten Konow.*—" It is a delightful book, full of useful information, and so well-arranged that it can be used as a handy book of reference."

7. *Prof. E. J. Thomas.*—" The work is of extreme interest not only for the social history of Bengal but also for the light it throws upon technical matters in Bengali and other Indian literatures that need explanation. I hope that the author will continue his studies, which, with their exact references and personal investigations, will be of great help to all students of Indian culture."

Progressism (An Essay in Social Philosophy) (*Calcutta University Readership Lectures*), by Edward Leroy .

Schaub, John Evans Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy, North Western University. *Demy 8vo pp. 305. Rs. 4-0.*

Contents:—I Some Preliminary Remarks.
II Progressism: An Interpretation of Indian Philosophy in its Divergence from the Spirit of the Contemporary West.
III Progressism: Its Genesis and Development.
IV Progressism: Its Varieties and its Springs.
V Progressism: Some Cultural Expressions in America.
VI Progressism: The Ideal of Social Progress in the Light of Rival Doctrines.
Supplement: Neo-Platonism in Religion.

Indian Nationality (*Calcutta University Jubilee Research Prize Thesis*), by Sukumar Dutt, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., Vice-Principal, Ramjas College, Delhi. *Royal 8vo pp. 210. Rs. 3-0.*

Contents:—Introduction.
Basic Factors of Indian Life.
The Problem of Nationality.
The Meaning of Indian Nationality.
Present Tendencies towards Development of Nationality.

The work is a concise academic study of an outstanding problem of Indian constitutional politics. The treatment is from a strikingly original point of view. Current conceptions of Nationality are acutely analysed and exposed and an entirely new conception of Indian Nationality is propounded. The work is eminently helpful to all statesmen and students of Indian life and history who have to deal with India, whether in the field of practical politics or in the sphere of academic study.

History of Political Thought from Rammohun to Dayananda, *Vol. I (Bengal)*, by Bimanbihari Majumdar, M.A. Ph.D. *Demy 8vo pp. 518. Rs. 4-8.*

Bharat Gaurab Bankimchandra-o-Surendranath (*in Bengali*), *by Kamala Debi M.A. Demy 8vo pp. 90. 1940. As. 12.*

Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah, 1740-70, Vol. I (Social and Economic), by Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D. *Demy 8vo pp. 587. Rs. 5-8.*

The author has made a laudable effort to throw new light on some of the least known aspects of the social and economic history of Bengal from a study of a huge mass of literary and documentary records. His reconstruction of the social history will prove of immense interest. The major part of the volume has been devoted to the East India Company, their factories in this province, their purchases and sales, their agents and officers, and the inquisitive student will find these chapters a valuable mine of information.

Sir Evan Cotton.—" It is already evident to me that the volume represents a distinct and valuable contribution to the history of the period. The value of the book is greatly enhanced by its careful documentation which enables the reader to visualide most graphically the conditions which prevailed in Bengal in Pre-British days. I feel honoured to possess a copy of Mr. Datta's book."

Sir Jadunath Sarkar.—" The information collected by you is interesting."

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Alivardi and His Times, by Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.). *Royal 8vo pp. xix and 308. 1939. Rs. 4-0.*

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".....I must congratulate you on the excellent way in which you have dealt with the subject. It shows extensive reading and critical ability of a high order. The style is lucid and attractive."—*R. C. Majumdar, Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University.*

".....I regard it (Alivardi and his Times) as a master-piece."—*Sachchidananda Sinha, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University.*

Principles of Training for Historical Investigation, by Prof. Arthur Percival Newton, M.A., D.Lit., B.Sc., F.S.A. *Demy 8vo pp. 99. Re. 1-8.*

Exploration in Tibet, by Swami Pranavananda (of the Holi Kailas and Manosarovar). *Demy 8vo pp. 160, with Illustrations and Maps. 1939. Rs. 2-8.*

Extracts from the Foreward by Dr. S. P. Chatterjee, M.Sc., Ph.D. (Lond.), Dr. De L'Universite, Paris, F.G.S. :—" The book consists of two parts. In the first part, the author after giving a general description of the area deals with the various phenomena that he observed during the freezing and the melting of the lakes—Manasarovar and Rakshas Tal. The crevasse, locally known as mayur, along the edge of which blocks of ice are piled up, is a peculiar surface feature of Manasarovar when it freezes. The Swami is the first explorer who studied the lakes continuously during the whole of the winter and the early spring, and has given us a vivid and picturesque description of the changing surface features of the lakes during this period. His descriptions of the people and their mode of living, though brief, are no less interesting.

In the second part of the book, the author takes up the question of the sources of the four great rivers and attempts to tackle it thoroughly in an exhaustive manner. The problem of fixing the sources of rivers is a difficult one, especially in a region like Tibet, where rivers are continuously cutting back by headwater erosion. It requires a detailed and careful study before anything like a ' last word ' can be said on this point. I am glad to find that the Swami is not dogmatic in his assertions, far less egoistic. He examines systematically the different criteria which professional geographers usually apply in the case of the four great rivers, and arrives at the conclusion that it would be most reasonable and nearer the truth to accept the traditional sources. He draws the attention of the reader to certain inconsistencies in Dr. Sven Hedin's treatment of the subject, though I am sure, that the Swami's admiration and regard for Dr. Sven Hedin, as an explorer and one of the greatest geographers, are in no way less than anybody else's.

I am confident that this book will be widely appreciated both in India and abroad, and I hope that it will do much to start lively discussions on the four great Indian rivers, and to rivet the attention of geographers all the world over on this important problem—the sources of these rivers once again.

3. EUROPE

European Alliance (1815-1825), by Prof. C. K. Webster, M.A., Litt.D. *Royal 8vo pp. 94. Re. 1-8.*

The book consists of six lectures delivered in the University in 1927. The author has shown how the Great Powers of Europe formed an Alliance originally to protect Europe from French aggrandisement during the Napoleonic period and has discussed the different aspects of the Alliance. He has shown what changes had occurred in the Alliance after the Conference of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818-1820) and what attitude the Alliance took towards the Spanish Revolution (1820-23). In the last Lecture he has compared the Alliance with the new institution, the League of Nations.

Post-War Europe, by Dr. Sudhindranath Ghosh. *Demy 8vo pp. 39. 1940. As. 6.*

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